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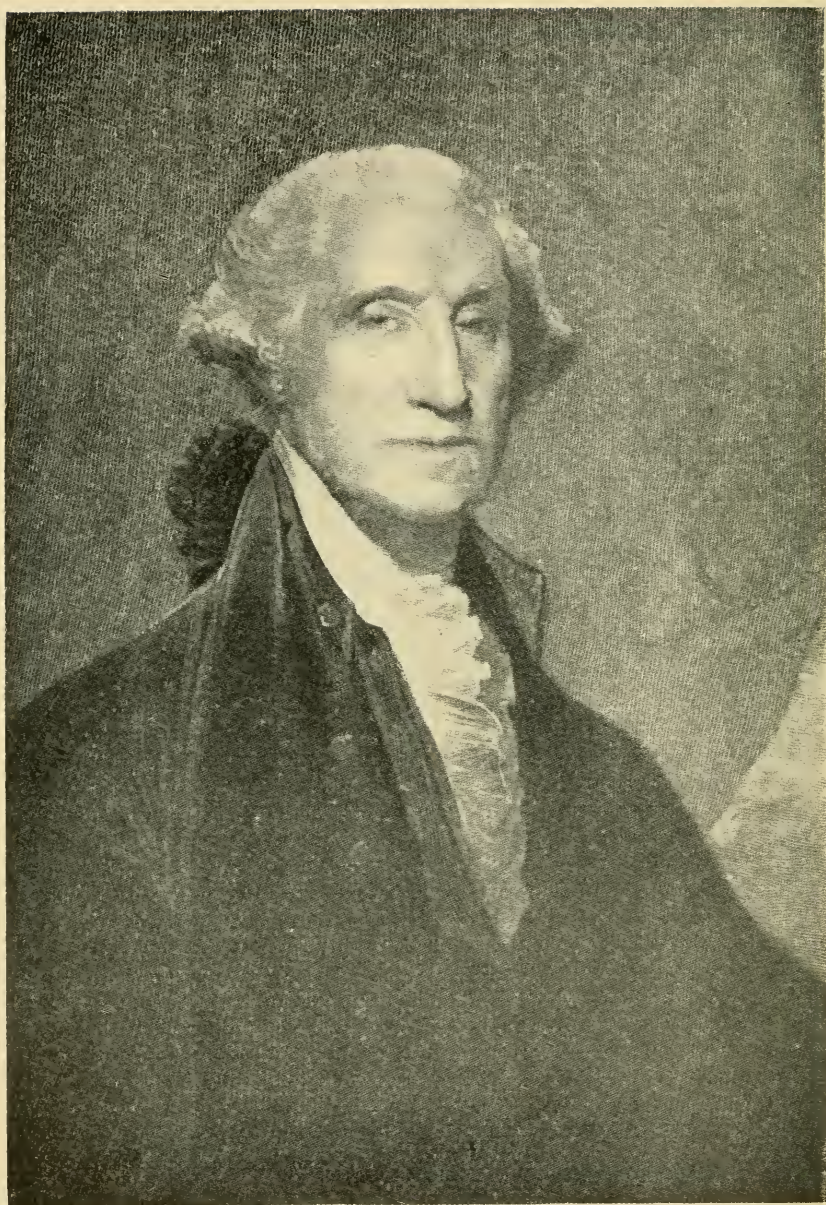


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George Washington

LIFE
OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE FATHER OF MODERN DEMOCRACY

BY
VERY REV. JAMES O'BOYLE, B.A., P.P., V.F.

AUTHOR OF "FROM WASHINGTON TO ROOSEVELT"

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INTRODUCTION.

IN presenting to the public this present work, I am carrying out a promise made in the preface to the volume, "From Washington to Roosevelt," my first effort in American history. In issuing it at this juncture, when half the so-called civilzed world is in the throes of the most gigantic war in history, I am inspired by the hope that it may pave the way in some measure to a true estimate of what should be the most hopeful line of democratic progress in the future. To me it seems obvious that the aim of nations after peace has been achieved should be to federate on a plan analogous to that adopted in America after the Revolution. It might at first sight seem but a day-dream to suggest and co-ordination amongst the powers of the world, considering the obstacles to be surmounted in any scheme of such magnitude, but the danger of a periodic recurrence of war under present conditions is such that diplomacy is bound henceforth to stop at nothing that is honourable and just to ensure a permanent peace amongst Christian nations. The democratic element—the majority of freemen in the nations—must take this matter up in real earnest and find a *via media* by which the diplomats, the cabinets, and the millionaires who rule the world's commerce may not be able as they now are imperceptibly and as from a physical necessity to throw the unthinking masses of humanity into hostile camps and launch them into the throes of gigantic wars.

The system recognized hitherto by the powers of Europe, viz., a balance of power or a concert of the strongest powers, has failed to keep war away from the nations, even when backed by the ablest diplomacy. The principle that alliances amongst the powers balancing one concert of nations against another has been long tested and has proved a failure, and even in theory is unsound. If the fleet and army of one con-

cert is weaker numerically and materially than the other allied powers, then it is up to the weaker power to seek new allies, to build more powerful fleets, to work up the martial spirit and instil principles of militarism amongst the people on the plea of self-preservation. Of course the stronger concert must not be out-classed nor allow its status as a dominant factor in the political world to be lowered, and hence the States composing it also will go on multiplying their fleets, aircraft, stores and armies. The end of all this rivalry we witness in the terrible war in which we are now engaged. The democratic voice of the nations is stifled in this battle, waged amongst diplomatists, foreign secretaries, and war ministers. Taxation must be kept up and year by year rise steadily higher and higher until the tension causes a crisis and the concerted nations find themselves engulfed in a Titanic contest for supremacy. The anti-democratic book of Bernhardi presents to us a true picture and a prophetic vision of German aims, ideals and ambitions before this war, as it foreshadows almost in detail how Germany should engage with and combat her enemies. It is a sad and true picture of what the anti-democratic military ascendancy party in Germany has brought about, and should be a lesson to the elective bodies in every land never to tolerate such a tyranny to rule in the future. Bernhardi's introduction to his lately published book, "How Germany Makes War," contains in essence the whole philosophy of Prussian militarism. "The political situation as it exists to-day in the world makes war for Germany a necessity, necessary for her freedom of action, necessary for her political, economic and national development. Germany has increased in population for the last forty years at a rate of one million per year. This cannot go on indefinitely, especially as in the meantime no colonial outlet has become available for German expansion. We must therefore acquire increased political power in the world in proportion to our commercial, intellectual and national ad-

vancement. The attainment of our political aims can only be effected by our preparedness to enforce our influence by the sword. In a conflict with our adversaries we may have to face our enemies singlehanded, since our Austrian and Italian allies are not bound to aid us in an offensive policy. To dream of eternal peace is antiquated, and cannot be our policy. Arbitration courts meant to lessen the dangers of war, and remove, if possible, war altogether from the world's stage, is only a feigned safeguard of the powers to cover their rear and to enable them to pursue their political aims and monopolies of power and possession undisturbed. Arbitration courts must always consider as fixed and stable existing territorial rights. We as a nation contend that we have not yet acquired our just rights—our fair share of colonial territory.

“In the face of a widespread propaganda for peace, arbitration courts which cannot remove the deep-rooted tension in Germany for national, economic, and political expansion and a partition of the earth which no diplomatic artifice can change in our favour, we must, to gain the position due to us among the nations, rely on our own sword, renounce all weakly visions of peace and eye the dangers surrounding us with resolute and unflinching courage. Our policy, then, must be to gain territory by force since the enemies that surround us can't be laid by diplomacy. If we should succeed in our ambitions as a steadily progressing world power, it behoves us to foster the martial spirit in our nation.”

I need hardly remind my readers that this line of reasoning, if admitted to be sound and founded on just principles, bodes ill for the future peace of the world. It savours of the evolution theories of Karl Marx and the survival of the fittest teaching of Darwin. We might compare it to the periodic volcanic eruptions of Mount Etna, when the tension of the seething lava becomes too powerful, eruptions follow. With Bernhardt the Providence of God, the Christian spirit of peace, and the elective voice of democracy, count for

nothing. Liberty, freedom and justice must make way for physical force and the material law of necessity on which his reasoning is built.

Does it occur to the school of which Bernhardi is the mouthpiece that there is such a thing as liberty? Does he build his theory of government on rulers governing independent of the people, or does he cling to the good old creed of Lincoln, "Government of the people, for the people, by the people"?

It is some consolation in the face of this vortex of war, universal almost over Europe, in which democrats and aristocrats, Jews and Gentiles, Mahommedan and Christian are indiscriminately engaged on either side contending for what God alone knows and slaying each other with a power and hate unknown hitherto in ancient or modern times, to turn our minds, sick with the horror of it all, to the home of true Democracy and the land of free institutions, and to recall scenes that were made sacred and heroes that are immortal in the Republic of the West.

It is now almost one hundred years and fifty since Thomas Jefferson, a Virginian lawyer and statesman, penned the Declaration of Independence; and it was just twelve years later that the American Constitution was drafted in Convention of delegates from the thirteen States, presided over by George Washington and ably assisted by fifty-one delegates, amongst whom was the sage, scientist and first statesman and diplomat of his day, Benjamin Franklin. It is comforting to lovers of free institutions to contemplate that this Constitution, drawn up by a nation's representatives in those distant days when ninety-seven per cent. of the colonists worked on the land and at a time when not more than ten or fifteen per cent. of the people in the world lived in towns, has stood the test of time, and to-day is looked upon by constitutional writers and statesmen in every clime as the model to which other nations are tending. That this Constitution was perfect when launched upon the nation, its

framers never claimed. That it was elastic enough and under able management, was capable of achieving the ends of its authors, time has sufficiently demonstrated. There were giants amongst those Constitution builders, and the ablest experts, viz., Marshall and Jay and Jefferson, built up the dry bones of the written document and expounded and expanded it in conformity with its spirit and letter in such a manner that it has admirably answered its end, viz., to give to a free and independent people as permanent and stable a form of government as the mind of man could devise.

The colonies by their representatives assembled in Congress in Philadelphia in the initial stages of the Revolution, give us the true ideals aimed at by the United States in framing their Constitution. "We hold," say they, "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among those are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure those rights governments are instituted among men, drawing their power from the consent of the governed; that when any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the undoubted right of the people to alter or abolish it and institute new government, and when such government, as in the case of Britain (in those colonial days) becomes tyrannical and subversive of freedom, then the duty to institute just government is urgent and imperative. And in conclusion, we invoke the Supreme Ruler of nations to guide us in framing a Constitution and in establishing a government in America, the most free and happy and independent that human wisdom and the perfection of man can attain."

That the Constitution drawn up after the Revolution in 1787 has survived the tests to which a century and more of government has subjected it is a sufficient guarantee of its perfection. Perhaps the severest strain put upon the

patriotism of the American nation and the stability of their free institutions, established and moulded under the immortal Washington, was the Civil War fought under the Presidency of Lincoln, when North and South met in deadly combat and desisted not until the solidarity of the Union was secured with a loss to the nation of 600,000 slain and 700,000 disabled, and at a cost to the nation of 2,000 million pounds. This war was really to test the permanency of their Union and Constitution. They fought for the right of the people's choice to govern the entire Union. They fought against the continuance of slavery in their free country. They fought against the right of any State in the Union to secede from the Federation and against the claim put forward by the Southern States of nullifying a particular law of the Federal Government. It took eighty years to test and knit the written Constitution and to cement and make stable the work of the fathers of their nation; and in the war fought with a fury, inspired not by hate but in defence of opposite ideals of liberty, the best of America's sons sanctified the virgin soil of their beloved land by their blood.

Lincoln, in his Gettysburgh speech, familiar to every schoolboy, speaks thus: "During the war of emancipation your fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation conceived in liberty, and now after fourscore and seven years we are met on this battlefield to consecrate and dedicate this ground for those who gave up their lives to test whether this or any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure."

The charter purchased by the blood of the sons of America in the war for Independence kindled a beacon light, the beams of which reached over the Atlantic and pointed the way to liberty to the nations of Europe. It sounded the death-knell of the personal rule of George of England, and though the franchise was not immediately granted to all freemen in Britain, nor was the rotten borough system

abolished for some years later, absolutism in government went down with the rise of free institutions in the lost colonies, and it is worthy of note that just then the patriots in Ireland led by Grattan were emboldened to insist on Irish freedom, backed loyally by the Irish Volunteers. The immortal Grattan, in one of his greatest speeches, said: "The American Revolution was the first great movement of the world's mind towards popular power." And adds: "America was the only hope and refuge of the liberties of mankind, and it was a voice from her shores that shouted across the Atlantic, liberty to Ireland."

In the eighteenth century legislation and administration were practically controlled by the Crown, the Cabinet and the official ring. The elective system, limited as it was, was merely a nominal check on the monopolists of power. In Prussia, until the latter half of the last century, a vote of one of the dominant class equalled fifteen plebeian electors.

In France the state of servitude of the lower and bourgeois class was deplorable, and though serfdom was only legitimate in Russia and Prussia in the years prior to the French Revolution, yet, owing to the disabilities and exactions of the Crown, all beneath the aristocrats and clergy and crown were serfs under a different name.

From the time that Louis XIV. ascended the throne until Louis XVI. was beheaded, a period of 160 years, the Constitution was suspended, and although there were nominally thirteen Provincial Parliaments, yet the King and his council of forty ruled the nation; and when we consider that Louis, George and Frederic were absolute rulers of their standing armies, we may not be surprised at the saying of Louis XIV.: "I am the State."

"The French Revolution," says MacCaffrey, in his "History of the Church," "was then not a sudden outburst of popular fury caused by some passing act of oppression. It was the result of forces partly social and political, partly

literary and religious, which had been working in harmony for a long time, aimed against absolutism of the Crown and the teaching of Christianity." And just as to England and Ireland a wave of liberty was wafted from the West, so also, says Thomas Jefferson, who lived in Paris as American Consul prior to and for a short period after the eruption in France broke out, "the war for Independence in America aroused the thinking part of France from the sleep of despotism in which they were sunk." The officers who had been to America in the war were mostly young aristocrats like Lafayette, less shackled by habit and prejudice after their return and more ready to assent to suggestions of common sense and common feelings of what was right than others. They came back with new ideas and impressions. The Press also began to disseminate more liberal views on government. Conversation assumed new freedom and politics became the theme of every rank in society; women even joined the political clubs and circles because it was *a la mode*. The patriotic flame thus ignited soon launched the nation into the throes of the uncontrollable revolution, and thus ceased forever the aristocratic rule in France and the absolute rule of the Bourbon dynasty.

Though these two momentous revolutions were waged in the name of liberty, and against tyranny and regal monopoly of government, yet one may wonder why results so divergent followed to the nations concerned. Why, though the French aimed at levelling down all the royal ramparts of privilege and power, did tyranny in one form or another still for many years raise its head around the thrones of Europe, and why did reforms, permanent and drastic such as we saw effected in America, not fructify for years, and why is it that still there is much room for the spread of true democratic institutions over the continent of Europe?

In seeking a cause for the slow spread of Democratic institutions in the Old World, one must remember that class distinction, privileges, monopolies, disparity in educa-

tional attainments and all those barriers that religion and statecraft had reared in the feudal times acted and reacted against the quiet expansion of democratic ideas and free institutions amongst European nations, with their rights of primogeniture, State churches, and aristocratic habits and customs, going back into the distant past. In each nation in Europe there was an ascendancy party who held a tenacious grip of power; there was a privileged class with conservative instincts, in Church and State, who clung to the Crown, as their protector and patron, and who, inch by inch, resisted every encroachment on their prerogatives.

America was differently situated, and the barriers raised in the Revolution against a privileged class in Church and State never were set up, and equal opportunities to every citizen of the Union laid deep the roots of a true, real and permanent democracy. "The watchword in America was 'Educate the masses of the people.' The people are the only sure reliance of our liberty," said Washington. "It is not by consolidating and concentrating power, but by distributing it that good government is effected; let taxation and the utmost representation go hand in hand in our free country."

One of America's foremost essayists has asserted that the Federal government in America was launched in the noon-day light of the world, after the feudal system was spent. It began in freedom and was defended from attacks by the facility with which, through popular assemblies, every necessary measure of reform can instantly be carried. "Our system of perpetual appeals to the people keeps up our identity and secures the reforms demanded. By this means also our government becomes conversant with the opinions of all classes."

The liberty-loving statesmen of America ever kept in view the doctrine that all appeals to the people and all political struggles should aim at establishing morality as a basis of legislation, and that their free institutions in

which every man is allowed the utmost liberty, compatible with the moral code and the rights of others, is a necessary means to secure peace, happiness and justice to every class, sect and condition in society.

America was the first nation in modern times that removed for all time the aristocratic and religious barriers—the ramparts of feudal times. “America,” says Sydney Smith, “has fairly and completely and probably for ever extinguished that spirit of religious persecution which has been the employment and the curse of mankind for centuries, not only that persecution which imprisons and scourges for religious opinions, but the tyranny of incapacitation which, by disqualifying from civil offices and cutting a man off from the lawful objects of ambition, endeavours to strangle religious freedom in silence and to enjoy all the advantages without the blood and noise and fire of persecution.”

Perhaps after this war is happily terminated, a war in which sects of every shade of belief are fighting side by side, we may see realized over the world the ideals so admirably expressed by Smith and so faithfully put in practice for a century in the United States of America. Prior to the Revolution there was a privileged church in America—a branch of the Anglican and a paid pastor by rates levied on all denominations. The Constitution left all forms of belief on the same footing in the eyes of the law. A reform which gave a great impetus to the spread of Catholicism, and just because of the connection between Church and State in England and France may we attribute the dead-and-alive attitude, if not open revulsion, to the practice of religion.

In estimating the causes why Democratic institutions were of so slow growth over Europe, it is also necessary to remember the rise and fall of Napoleon and the consequent return of the Bourbons, as well as the lack of educational facilities for the poorer classes. When Napoleon fell a

concert of crowned heads formed an alliance to maintain the *statu quo* and keep regal and monarchial ascendancy in the nations, and it was not until the middle of the last century that the nations of Europe offered State aid to educate the masses of their people. One might well wonder was it the policy in those days of decaying feudalism to keep the people ignorant. "Educate the people and so make them free," is a maxim now admitted by all. We saw that the education of the masses was one of the first concerns of American statesmen, and after their emancipation richly endowed primary, secondary and higher schools rose up over the land and followed the pioneers out West from ocean to ocean.

Progress then for obvious reasons was slow in Europe in following the admirable lead given in the virgin soil of America. Yet following the authority of Lord Bryce we must not despair. He says: "The Americans are believed to disclose and display the type of institution towards which, as by a law of fate, the rest of the civilized world are forced to move, some swifter, others slower, but all with unhesitating foot."

It might not be uninteresting to expound in this connection the basic principle on which the Federal plan of America's free institutions is framed. Each ward in the American Republic is a small republic within itself, and every man in the States is an active member of the common government, transacting in a subordinate way portion of the rights and duties in subordination to the general Federal government.

The State governments and the Federal government are co-ordinate departments of one single and integral whole. To the State governments are reserved all legislation and administration in affairs which concern their own citizens only, and to the Federal government is given whatever concerns foreigners or the citizens of other States. The one is the domestic, the other the foreign branch of the same govern-

ment, neither having control over the other, but within its own department.

Madison, fourth President of the States, is perhaps the best authority on the Constitution; by pen and speech he did as much as any of the great men of his day to make the charter acceptable to the nation. He says: "The American Constitution is neither national nor federal, but a composition of both. In its foundation it is federal not national; in its source from which the ordinary powers of the government are drawn it is partly federal, partly national. In its operations it is national, not federal. In its extent of powers it is partly federal, partly national; and finally in its authoritative mode of introducing amendments it is neither wholly federal nor wholly national."

That an agreement on all the points of divergency amongst the representatives of the thirteen isolated colonies should be beset with innumerable obstacles and difficulties almost insurmountable was inevitable, and on this point we may let Washington explain. "The primary cause of all our differences," he wrote, "lies in the different State governments and in their tenacity of that power which pervades the whole system. Whilst individual sovereignty is so ordinarily contended for, whilst the local views of each State and separate interest by which they are so much governed will not yield to a more enlarged scale of politics, incompatibility in the laws of the different States and disrespect to those of the general government renders our situation difficult to readjust."

That so elastic and harmonious a Constitution from the deliberations of the Constitution builders, after a long session extending over five months, was effected under the able chairmanship of Washington, augurs well for similar attempts even on a scale bordering on an international federation whereby peace may for all time be secured to the world.

Surely the task is not insurmountable for the statesmen of the nations, perhaps, embracing the best minds in the world's history to solve the problem of the future peace among nations. The balance of power theory has gone under with a crash, millions of men and billions of money have been sacrificed, and still we are no nearer that security for which the world longs and prays to-day.

The people have been and are taxed beyond the dream of what our fathers ever conceived as possible, and why? To build fleets and raise armies not for peace but war; to destroy the manhood of the nations, and this because there is no power in the nations superior to the cabinets and counsels of the powers that rule us to cry halt, and crush the spirit of militarism over the earth.

Did the Ruler of the universe step down from his Throne on High and quell this mania for power and wealth and war, then all would be well, but He allows the utmost liberty to rulers and ruled, and He expects that they will carry out His commands. "Peace on earth" is the command of the Prince of Peace. Let Christian charity, brotherly love reign on earth and inspire rulers and people. Since rulers hitherto have not reached the ideals of the Master, the *vox populi* which is the *vox Dei* must be heard and this voice is for abolishing war for all time.

An International Federation or co-ordination of the powers must be the medium to establish this peace, and would that my voice could reach the democracies in every land. Would that men like Henry, the Demosthenes of the American Revolution, would come forth from their native wilds and rouse the nations to awake and battle by word and act to destroy the tyranny of militarism, the standing fleets of increasing magnitude and the mammoth armies of the world? Would that a chairman like the illustrious Washington could be found to preside at a conference that would federate the powers of the world in bonds

of international extent to keep secure the future peace of the world.

There is just, in conclusion, a few words of criticism and warning I would advance to the free and independent people of America.

She, whilst secure in her Constitution and free institutions, has to beware of the spirit of Rationalism and Materialism and Deism vitiating the springs of her vitality.

The Americans, when first they launched out in a free, self-governing nation, held firmly to the belief that the people should be liberally educated and encouraged to take an intelligent and practical part in the government and advancement of their country. The older generations, those who made their country free and independent, dreaded foreign influence and European culture, and they deterred foreign professors from propounding their new theories in Philosophy, Economics, and Religion. But as time wore on, new men and new ideas came upon the scene and the latest nostrums from Jena, the latest finery from Paris, and the latest in the fine arts from Florence became fashionable with the leaders of thought and society in New York. The Huxleys and Darwins, Haeckels and Karl Marxs were received as new lights in the most cultured American literary society. We saw how the teaching of John Wesley took root, and after the war almost supplanted Anglicanism in religion, and how anarchists and Mormons, socialists and other undesirables came over from the oppressed and vice-laden centres in the Old World, and how the American Constitution allowed them a home and was at the same time fit to assimilate them and make them observe the laws of the Federation. But the waves of higher criticism and culture and the poison of materialistic teaching imbibed in the seats of learning of the nation is a poison that eats into the souls and hearts of men and cannot be expelled by human laws of the most perfect constitutions. The churches may rail and rant as they have argued and en-

deavoured to refute the anti-Christian tenents brought over from Europe and nurtured on the free and not unfertile soil of America; but the churches in great part have wasted their sweetness on desert places, and to-day men looked up to as leaders in the educational world of America openly avow their Atheism, and the churches to still keep a hold, though feeble, on their followers are forced to tone down the Word of God, and to make the churches attractive by calling to their aid music and comedy more theatrical than religious. The trend of the sects in America to-day is towards Unitarianism.

The real, vital, conservative religious power in the States is the Catholic Church. She has falsified the old theory of her enemies that only under monarchy can she prosper. She shows to all that it is possible to be a dutiful subject under Republican rule and still a firm believer in the Catholic Creed and a loyal child and obedient to the Chair of Peter. She changes not with the novelties of the scientists. Her code of doctrine and morals has unchanged from the days when Bishop Carroll ruled alone over the entire Union, and to-day men of every rank, Governors of States and President of the nation freely acknowledge the loyalty of the Catholic Church to the Republic and the consistent support of Catholic pastors given to correct abuses and reform the moral of the people. And the names that are most revered over the Union by all denominations are Cardinal Gibbons and the great Bishop Ireland, staunch pillars of the Church and true Americans, and both sons of Holy Ireland.

The framers of the Constitution always presupposed that their free institutions should go hand in hand with Christian ideals and be leavened by them, and that the moral code of the Decalogue should keep their race and nation on true Christian lines. Hence at every turn in their public duties they set the noble and beautiful example to those that might follow them to invoke the Ruler of the Universe to guide them in all their deliberations. What may be the

fate of their nation if the Christian law ceases to permeate the lives and acts of the people, I will not stop to consider; but of one truth I am assured, that as long as the people's legislators trust in God and keep His law their nation will prosper and continue to carry out the designs of its founders: the peace, happiness and prosperity of the people.

THE PRESBYTERY,

BALLYMONEY,

Co. ANTRIM.

February 1st, 1915

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	iii.
CHAPTER I.	
CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YOUTH	1
CHAPTER II.	
LIFE AS SURVEYOR	12
CHAPTER III.	
FIRST MILITARY SERVICE	21
CHAPTER IV.	
WASHINGTON IN TEMPORARY COMMAND	31
CHAPTER V.	
HIS FINAL COLONIAL SERVICE	39
CHAPTER VI.	
FARMER AND CONGRESSMAN	48
CHAPTER VII.	
WASHINGTON CHOSEN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF	66
CHAPTER VIII.	
MRS. WASHINGTON IN CAMP.—SOCIAL SIDE OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE	90
CHAPTER IX.	
CAMPAIGN AROUND NEW YORK.—BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND	94
CHAPTER X.	
RETREAT ACROSS THE JERSEYS	107

CHAPTER XI.		PAGE
WASHINGTON'S ENERGY.—HOPEFULNESS AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ARMY. —BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON ..		112
CHAPTER XII.		
THE GENERAL'S HANDS STRENGTHENED ..	..	127
CHAPTER XIII.		
FOREIGN AID AND SYMPATHY ..	..	131
CHAPTER XIV.		
HOWE SAILS FOR PHILADELPHIA.—BATTLES OF BRANDYWINE AND GERMANSTOWN ..		137
CHAPTER XV.		
WAR IN THE SOUTH AND THE FRANCO-SPANISH ALLIANCE ..		144
CHAPTER XVI.		
WASHINGTON'S DIFFICULTIES IN '79 ..	..	152
CHAPTER XVII.		
THE YEAR 1780 ..	..	157
CHAPTER XVIII.		
FINANCE TROUBLES.—THE DAUGHTERS OF LIBERTY. —LAFAYETTE AND THE ARRIVAL OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU WITH FLEET ..		165
CHAPTER XIX.		
A SURVEY OF AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR REMEDY.—WINTER OF 1780 AND 1781 ..		170
CHAPTER XX.		
RIVAL ADDRESSES ISSUED BY THE CONTENDING PARTIES.—AMERICAN PEOPLE AND EVENTS AND WARFARE.—LEADING UP TO YORKTOWN ..		180
CHAPTER XXI.		
REFLECTIONS ON THE WAR.—CAUSES LEADING UP TO FINAL VICTORY ..		189

CHAPTER XXII.

PAGE

WASHINGTON AND HIS ARMY.—DIFFICULTIES TO KEEP DOWN INSURRECTION.—THE LOVE OF ARMY FOR GENERAL.—WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF ARMY AND CONGRESS	194
--	-----

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOME LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON FROM 1783 TO 1789	203
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONFEDERATION.—FEDERAL CONVENTION AND CONSTITUTION.—THE FIRST PRESIDENT ..	217
---	-----

CHAPTER XXV.

WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM AS PRESIDENT (1793 TO 1797)	234
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVI.

DEATH AND BURIAL OF WASHINGTON.—CHARACTER- ISTICS.—HIS PLACE IN HISTORY	249
--	-----

CHAPTER XXVII.

FRENCH REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN AFFAIRS ..	261
---	-----

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WASHINGTON'S CONTEMPORARIES. — FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON AND PAINE	273
---	-----

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE AMERICAN NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION ..	284
--	-----

CHAPTER XXX.

THE IRISH IN THE REVOLUTION	288
-----------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XXXI.

ARMY WANTED TO MAKE WASHINGTON KING.— THE SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI	321
--	-----

CHAPTER XXXII.

SKETCH OR SUMMARY OF CHIEF POINTS OF CON- STITUTION	325
--	-----

APPENDIX A.		PAGE
THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	.. .. .	335

APPENDIX B.		
A CHART ON THE CONSTITUTION OF UNITED STATES.		
—THE CONSTITUTION	.. .. .	342

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE
✓ GEORGE WASHINGTON	<i>Frontispiece</i>
✓ COLUMBUS DISCOVERING AMERICA	30
✓ BUNKER'S HILL	78
✓ THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	96
✓ WASHINGTON READING A DESPATCH	140
✓ LIST OF NAMES	160
✓ THE BRITISH SURRENDERING THEIR ARMS TO GENERAL WASHINGTON, 1781	189
✓ FIVE FRIENDS OF WASHINGTON AND PAST PRESIDENTS	229
✓ TOMB AND RESIDENCE OF WASHINGTON	254
✓ BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	276
JOHN PAUL JONES	286
THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY	311
✓ ABRAHAM LINCOLN	328

Life of Washington.

CHAPTER I.

CHILDHOOD AND EARLY YOUTH.

IN writing the life of George Washington a passage occurs to the mind from the preface of Plutarch's *Life of Alexander the Great* which might appropriately be quoted in this opening chapter. It will serve as an apology to such of my readers as may wish for more details than are given in my narrative of the celebrated battles and famous exploits of this illustrious man.

“It is my purpose,” says Plutarch, “to write the lives of Alexander the King and of Cæsar, by whom Pompey was destroyed. The multitude of their great actions affords so large a field that I were to blame, if I should not by way of apology forewarn my readers that I have chosen rather to epitomise the most celebrated parts of their story than to insist at large on every particular circumstance of it. It must be borne in mind that my design is not to write histories but lives; and the most glorious exploits do not always furnish us with the clearest discoveries of virtue or vice in men; sometimes a matter of less moment, an expression or a jest, informs us better of their characters and inclinations than the most famous sieges, the greatest armaments or the bloodiest battles. Therefore as portrait-painters are more exact on the lines and features of the face in which the character is seen than in other parts of the body, so I must be allowed to give my more particular attention to the marks and indications of the souls of men; and while I endeavour by these to pourtray their

lives, may be free to leave more weighty matters and great battles to be treated by others."

George Washington was born in Virginia, U.S., in the County of Westmoreland, on the 22nd of February, 1732. He was the eldest of six children borne to his father, Augustine Washington, by his second wife, Mary Ball, there having been four children by a first marriage, of whom two, Lawrence and Augustine, lived to manhood, the others dying in early youth.

The pedigree of the Washingtons can be traced back for over 600 years. They were of Norman descent, and are supposed to have "come over with the Conqueror" and settled in the shire of Durham. There is some doubt about the original name of the family. The present form of it is derived, with some modifications, from the estate our hero's forefathers possessed for centuries under the lordship of the Bishop of Durham. They were at one time known as the De Hertburn's, then De Wessyngton, and finally Washington, when the old Norman "De" was changed for Esqr. or Mr. The change from Hertburn to Washington followed the change of territory of the possessor. The surname in those days followed the name of the territory or estate owned by the possessor. It was in the reign of Henry the Sixth that the "De" was generally dropped from surnames and the English terms Esqr. or Gentleman substituted.

They were a martial race, those forefathers of George Washington, and for generations supplied their episcopal lords with men and provender. Sir Henry Washington fought in the Civil War on the side of the King, and so stubbornly did he defend the citadel of Worcester that he was still in arms, when the unlucky sovereign himself had given up his cause in despair. This trait of Sir Henry's character, a reference to which underlies the motto on the family arms, "*He hoped against hope*," we shall see again exemplified by his great descendant, when, as Commander-

in-Chief of the American Army of Independence, he held out with fortitude and perseverance when hope had all but died in army and senate. When the cause of Charles became hopeless, the Washingtons, in the year 1657, sailed from England; and John and Lawrence, the first of whom was great grandfather of the future President, settled in Virginia, near the Potomac river, and followed the occupation of farmers and stockholders.

The father of George Washington possessed large tracts of land in the Old Dominion (as Virginia was named by its aristocratic settlers), and at his death, which occurred in 1743, when he was forty-nine years of age, he bequeathed the farm on which he died to George, then a boy of eleven. The estate at Mount Vernon, where our hero, when in private life, lived, and where he eventually died, he left to Lawrence, the eldest son of his first marriage.

The early training of young colonials in the eighteenth century was mainly left to their parents or tutors, as in country districts there were few opportunities outside the family circle for the education of the young. Where the colonist was isolated the first rudiments of secular knowledge were imparted at home; but in thickly-planted areas schools were opened and maintained by combination among the settlers and by voluntary contributions. It was only in the more Eastern and maritime settlements that permanent educational institutions existed, and their success and efficiency varied with the resources and intelligence of the colonists. Those among the larger planters who could afford private tutors for their families did procure them. In some instances the eldest boys were sent over to the English Colleges to complete their education and prepare for the professions. The College of William and Mary gave a sound classical and English training to those who entered its halls. It was in this College that Thomas Jefferson, lawyer and statesman, was educated. Washington had not the advantage of classical or College education. It is re-

corded that the early education of young "Master George" was in part entrusted to a Mr. Hobby, sexton to the Protestant Church which stood on his father's estate; and some years later, after his father's death, he was sent to a Mr. Williams near to the plantation on Bridge's Creek of his brother Augustine. Under Mr. Williams he learned higher arithmetic, book-keeping, drawing, and surveying. None of the family received a higher training than was necessary to qualify them for the life of a farmer or surveyor, except Lawrence, who at an early age was sent to England and afterwards entered the British Navy as lieutenant under Admiral Vernon, after whom Mount Vernon is named.

The parents of George Washington, as we are told in Upham's "Life," were eminently qualified to instruct the minds and develop the character of their rising family, a fact amply attested by the after lives of their children. The high moral tone and religious feeling notable in Washington and his disciplined mind and the high ideals and principles that shone forth in his character and actuated all his actions from boyhood were in great part the fruit of the early training given to him by his parents. The gifts with which nature endowed him were lovingly developed. Nature showered on him her choicest blessings. She gave to him as the foundation of all his other excellences a strong and robust constitution, capable of much endurance. In stature he was tall and commanding. His countenance was pleasing, yet sufficiently severe to dispel from the mind of the beholder any idea of undue softness, pliability or want of fixity of purpose and determination. His faculties were under the control of a strong mind and iron will. He could be vivacious, sportive and agreeable without yielding to frivolity or buffoonery or relaxing in the slightest form a manner which in ordinary mortals would have been styled pompous; but in so towering and commanding a personality was the natural concomitant of power and

genius. He was from youth distinguished among his companions for grace and dignity and manly deportment; his was in very fact a personality that marked him out as a superior by right and a born ruler of men. These qualities of head and heart were, as we have said, carefully controlled, admirably trained and suitably developed by the care and culture of parental discipline. The method with which every act was performed, the neat, precise, and clear manner in which his early exercises and first attempts at book-keeping, copying, drawing and arithmetic and mensuration were performed—these early exercises are still extant—the caution and self-control that followed him in after life could have been produced and formed into firm habits by no other agencies than the early training in tender years of a wise and vigilant father and mother. Nature did her part by him nobly, but it required judicious and capable parents to develop their gifted boy's faculties and draw forth his latent talents. George seems to have been the favourite child, the best beloved of his parents, and he was admired and looked up to by the other members of his family on account of his agreeable manner and brotherly affection. His manly bearing and deportment, as his youth advanced, made him admired by all his youthful companions, and those high ideals, noble aims and lofty principles, accompanied by a fearless daring and courage in the cause of right, which recommended him to his countrymen in his manhood as the soul of chivalry and honour and impressed the world with respect and veneration for his name, early attracted his youthful compeers and marked him out as their loved and admired leader. He early evinced a predilection for military tournaments, and in those juvenile sham battles with rude arms he always commanded and led in the charge. We see noted in the boyhood of Napoleon similar instances of precocious love of mimic battles and sieges.

The surroundings of Washington's early years in rural

Virginia assisted much in moulding and forming his mind and character. From his tenderest years he was surrounded by no evil associates and kept removed from temptations to low or mean acts by loving and vigilant parents. Everything that could foster virtuous action, upright dealing, and noble resolve, was encouraged, anything savouring of meanness or dishonourable conduct was eliminated as poison from the home surroundings of his family.

As an instance of the care and religious training of Washington's youth it is recorded in Washington Irving's interesting biography that his mother, in the evenings after her household work was over, gathered her little family around her and read to them a chapter out of George Matthew Hales' "Moral and Divine Contemplations," her favourite book. Like Queen Blanche, the mother of St. Louis, she instilled into their tender minds a love of goodness and a horror of offending God. This dear old volume was bequeathed by his mother to our hero when he entered upon the Seven Years' War for Independence. He carried it about with him during life, with the autograph of Mary Washington on its front page, and when he died it was found among his effects at Mount Vernon. As he was ever noted not so much for words as for deeds, so he was not so remarkable for enthusiasm in prayer as for a strong silent faith in the Providence of God, the watchful ruler of men and nations. We know from his correspondence, now public property, that he manifested great trust in and reverence for God, and that at a time when his fortunes were almost hopeless, both in his retreat across the Jerseys and in his quarters at Valley Forge, when starvation and annihilation of his army stared him in the face. The Rev. Mr. Barnes recounts how, in the woods above Philadelphia, outside the camp, unseen by his army, he was accustomed, in the darkest hours of the war, on bended knees, to address his Maker in prayer. To his fond mother must be given the credit for this prayerful habit in our hero.

Washington early in life mapped out a code of rules for his own guidance. In these one can gauge the sagacious mind of the precocious youth. These "rules of behaviour and conversation," as he styled them, amounting to about one hundred, and which he studied to put in practice during his after life, showed great maturity of judgment, and point out how observant he was as a boy of what was apt and correct in word and act. He also from time to time noted in his diary, which has come down to us, principles of civility and propriety which reflect the wisdom and virtue Washington's life remarkably exemplifies. How well does not the life of Washington prove the Scripture truth that the lessons of youth will not depart from us in old age. As the child is father to the man, so his mother's early training of his rare natural endowments show forth in his acts to his latest day. Virginia, in the boyhood days of Washington, was unlike in most things from what we now know it. There were no towns or cities in the Dominion. Norfolk, the largest village, had 600 inhabitants, and Williamsburgh was a struggling township; and although the capital of the State had few houses, the population of the entire State was scarcely half a million, and one-half of these were negroes and poor whites or servants and descendants of convicts who lived in villages on the plantations of the prosperous settlers and tilled their land and herded their stock. The Virginian Colonial planters were a proud, independent race, who loved liberty for themselves after their aristocratic fashion. They were conservative in their tendencies and exclusive in their legislation. They rigidly ignored all religions but the Episcopalian, and such a nobleman as Lord Fairfax and his cousin, Sir William, found a congenial home among them. The Fairfaxs were neighbours to the Washingtons and by their inter-marriage were related to Lawrence, George's half-brother.

The population was thickest along the rivers and lakes and seaboard. There were no industries among them

except the raising of tobacco, wheat and wool, which were sold to English merchants, who in turn imported manufactured goods and Eastern luxuries amongst them. There was little money in circulation among the colonists, although their circumstances were comfortable. There were no mail coaches in those byegone days and no roads worthy of the name. The post-bag was carried on horseback or on post-waggons every fortnight. Pedlars passed amongst the colonists disposing of merchandise. Here and there one might meet in populous districts mills to grind the grain and taverns and stores to supply the necessaries required by the inhabitants.

The medical doctor was "rare" and not of much account. Lawyers were to be met in the important townships and salaried clergy were numerous in town and country. "The latter," says Lodge in his *Life of Washington*, "were men of little culture except those who gave themselves up to the useful art of instructing in Colleges and schools the youth. As for the rest of the clerical faculty they mixed freely with the vulgar and men little above the ordinary planter in morals or respectability." The Virginians were a social, jovial and hospitable race. Dancing and music, hunting and fishing were popular and much practised pastimes. Such famous Virginians as P. Henry and Jefferson were in youth famed for playing the fiddle around the country at festive gatherings.

The rural home of Washington, on the Virginian veldt on the banks of the Rappahannock, was an ideal locality to train and develop a youth of so much promise and destined by Providence to play so notable a part in his country's history and in the history of the world. The mountains and plains of rural America produced many remarkable men. In fact her most renowned heroes and generals, her most famed statesmen, presidents and orators spent their youthful days and grew up to manhood in rural homes under the care of peasant parents. No State from the day on which

the Virginian Thomas Jefferson drew up the Declaration of Independence gave more renowned and patriotic men to the cause of country than Virginia, so named, we may remark, in the time of Elizabeth in perpetuation of her title of " Virgin Queen " bestowed on her by her admirers. Among the Virginians who loomed largely in the Revolution period and in the passing of the Constitution were Jefferson, P. Henry, Munroe, Marshall, George Clarke, Randolph Mason and Grayson.

The environments of Virginia were suited in a marked degree to develop character. The spacious tracts of rich land that individual planters possessed gave to the settlers a feeling of liberty and independence. Each land-owner was in a certain sense " monarch of all he surveyed." If anyone disputed his claims or supposed rights, as his Red neighbours often did, he was ready to repel invasion, and assert his authority by force. Hence every planter was a soldier by necessity, if not always from choice. Self-defence and defence of his borders demanded of him that he should shoulder his arms. These wild and romantic surroundings gave to youthful minds that bold, daring, self-reliance that in Washington was so remarkable. He was, not alone in the early wars against the French and Red Indians, but in his later days, in the responsible position of Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate Army, noted for his fearless daring, never, however, it should be remarked, reckless or foolhardy. The sociability and hospitality which were another feature of early rural life in Virginia, helped to foster in him that kind regard and compassionate consideration for others which were also notable traits in his character. A mind so susceptible must have been deeply moved and its imaginative powers most vividly impressed by the record of exploits of his martial ancestors in the far back days in the " Fatherland," as England was then designated by the loyal colonials. There was an hereditary leaning in the Washington family towards the profession of arms, and it

early manifested itself in the minds of George and Lawrence. We see his half-brother, Lawrence, at the age of fourteen setting out to England to undergo his military training for the Navy, and in a few years set off to the Indies under Admiral Vernon as Major to fight at Carthagera against the Spanish fleet. The bravery of Lawrence Washington in the successful encounters on land and sea earned for him the friendship and encomiums of his commanders.

As Washington Irving appropriately says: "The family for many generations maintained an equality of fortune and respectability and whenever brought to the test has acquitted itself with honour and loyalty. Hereditary rank may be an illusion; but hereditary virtue gives a patent of innate nobleness beyond all the blazonry of the Heralds' College."

Another influence on the career of our hero, in addition to the family tradition in arms, must have been the tales with which he was familiar, of the deeds of daring incidental to the ever recurring encounters of the colonists with their fierce, intractable and relentless and treacherous neighbours, the Red Indians, who, perhaps not without reason, held in undying hate the white man of British origin. A brave youth must have, in such an atmosphere, been, early in life, forming plans and projects for a soldier's life and military renown. From the death of his father, when George was only eleven years old, the education and guardianship of the children devolved on Mrs. Washington. How capable his mother was for the responsible charge historians of her gifted son agree in attesting. Mrs. Washington was truly a remarkable woman. She was descended from the better class of colonials and endowed with a gifted mind, which circumstances enabled her parents to develope by a good education. Washington Irving thus speaks of her: "She was endowed with plain, direct, good sense, thorough conscientiousness and prompt decision. She governed her family strictly, but kindly, exacting deference while she inspired affection. George being her eldest was thought to

be her favourite, yet she never gave him undue preference, and the implicit deference exacted from him in childhood continued to be habitually observed by him to the day of his death. He inherited from her a high temper, and a spirit of command, but her early precepts and example taught him to restrain and govern that temper and to square his conduct on the exact principles of equity and justice." Mrs. Washington was repaid above other mothers in the success and good fortune that attended her children. It has been remarked that although she lived to see her favourite boy become the first man in the country, yet she was never unduly elated nor tempted to divert from her rigorous life and homely manners. When all around her were praising the "First Soldier and Father of his Country," she, like the mother of President Garfield, was filled with sentiments of humility and thankfulness to God, merely remarking that "he was a good son and performed his duty as a man." What Plutarch has written about Coriolanus might not unfitly be applied to Washington: "The fact that he was left an orphan and brought up under a widowed mother has shown us by experience that although the early death of a father may be attended with other disadvantages, yet it can never hinder anyone from being virtuous or eminent in the world, and that it is no obstacle to true greatness and goodness, however bad men may be pleased to lay the blame of their corruption on that misfortune."

It was an early ambition with young colonials in the middle of the eighteenth century, especially with those of the better class, to obtain a commission in the army or navy of England, and had George Washington's eldest brother, Lawrence, been successful in overcoming Mrs. Washington's opposition, the future irreconcilable from British rule in America might have begun his career as a midshipman. Providence thwarted the plans mapped out for the boy to enter the navy at the age of fourteen years and guided his course to another field of enterprise. A

correspondent who knew the circumstances of this event relates that the word of his mother carried more weight with her promising boy than that of ten others urging him in a direction contrary to her wishes. What might have been the future history of our hero and of his country, had the English navy been the career of his choice, we need not pause to consider.

About this time, just before Washington had finished his education, at the age of sixteen, he had a love affair of a romantic character. There is evidence in his own handwriting that he had conceived a passion for an unknown beauty, and we learn from Washington Irving that so seriously was his heart wounded by the darts of "Cupid," by her who is known to us from some amateur verses he wrote as the "lowland beauty," that "he pined in pitiless grief and woe," and was driven to lament in a couplet he wrote in connection with this affair of his juvenile heart:

"Ah, woe is me that I should love and conceal,
Long have I wished and never dare reveal."

The silent, bashful boy, it is to be noted, sedate and decorous as he was, had a heart like other mortals, and "sighing like furnace," makes known his kinship with the rest of the world. The mother of Light Horse Harry Lee, of Revolution fame, a Miss Grimes, of Westmoreland, was supposed to be the "lowland beauty" of his affection. Lee was ever a favourite with Washington, probably from early recollections of this affair. We find him as President in friendly correspondence with light-hearted Harry Lee.

CHAPTER II.

LIFE AS SURVEYOR.

Washington's school days ended when he was sixteen years, and an appointment as land surveyor was obtained for him through the influence of Lawrence, son-in-law of

Sir William Fairfax. There were no Universities or Colleges in the neighbourhood in his native Virginia in those days. The Virginians were mainly engaged in farming and most of them ambitioned no higher profession. Farming was to be the avocation of their boys, and farming was in those days a respectable avocation, not more than three per cent. of the colonists one hundred and fifty years ago being independent of the land. The education of Washington, when setting out on his surveying expedition, would correspond to that of a well-informed pupil in the Seventh Standard of our National Schools. Mathematics in the higher stages, advanced book-keeping, mensuration, drawing, mapping and surveying were added to the ordinary subjects of reading, writing, grammar, geography, composition and spelling. Washington was a careful, diligent and efficient pupil. He wrote a good hand and his extant diaries of those days show that he could express his ideas with much grace. Method and order and diligence were notes of his character as a pupil, and from his collection of axioms written about this time we glean the fact that he considered work a necessary rule of a well-ordered life. "Labour," says he, "to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire called conscience." Some time prior to Washington's entering on the office of surveyor he had been living at Mount Vernon with Lawrence. The Fairfaxes were his neighbours. Sir William, cousin to Lord Fairfax, was a man who had seen much of the world and had acted many parts honourably and well, as a British subject. He early received education of a liberal kind and in youth joined the army. He served with distinction in the European wars and on retirement was rewarded by the post of Governor of the State of New Providence. His cousin, Lord Fairfax, had some years been resident in America. He possessed patents for large tracts of unclaimed land on Virginian borders adjoining the Ohio and the Blue Mountains. On these lands he built

himself a residence and made his final resolve to end his days as an American citizen. Lord Fairfax was a nobleman advanced in years when George Washington became acquainted with him at Belvoir House beside Mount Vernon. This nobleman was the hero of a romantic love affair in England, in which he was jilted. He mixed in high literary society and was an occasional contributor to the *Spectator*. Like all English squires he loved the chase and he had his beagles and foxes and hares and hawks transferred across to his Virginian home. Washington was on most intimate terms with the Fairfaxes, and often did he spend a social evening at Belvoir, their beautiful residence. Often, too, did he accompany to the hunt the kind, though eccentric lord, and between the youth and the nobleman a mutual attachment began to grow up. The observant old aristocrat saw in young Washington a lad of much promise, and divined in him a character that would become one day eminent in the annals of his country. He saw his aptness for the vacant position of mapping out the unreclaimed and boundless territory that he possessed, and accordingly young Washington and Mr. George Fairfax, son of Sir William, were appointed to measure and map out the estate.

In the position now entered upon Washington was engaged for three years, and in the diary written by him during those years and still preserved we have a most interesting account of his labours and hardships and experiences. From the perusal of this most interesting document we may infer that even at this early date he keenly appreciated and acted upon the injunction: "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might." He tells us that now he was coasting along the banks of swollen rivers, fording creeks, toiling up steep mountains on horseback! Again he is carried along on some turbulent current in shallow and precarious small boats. He is exposed to wind and rain, snow and storm for days together, often sleeping on his rug beneath his blanket, exposed to the severest

elements, without any protection except what the massive branches of the forest afford. At times his food consisted solely of the flesh of wild turkeys, cooked by a fire of brambles and served on broad chips of trees with wooden spits for forks. Often his nearest neighbours were Red Indians and not unfrequently he partook of their hospitality and was an amused witness of their recreations. In his diary we find an interesting and vividly written account of a "war dance" at which he was present. "We were agreeably surprised," says the diary, "at 2 a.m. at the sight of thirty Indians coming from war with only one scalp. We had a war dance, after clearing a large space and making a great fire in the middle. The men seated themselves around and the speaker made a grand speech, telling them in what manner they were to dance. After he had finished, the best dancer jumped up as one awakened from a sleep; and ran and jumped about the ring in a most comical manner. He was followed by the rest. Then began the music which was performed with a pot full of water, with a deer-skin stretched tight over it, a gourd with some shot in it, to rattle, and a piece of moose tail to make it look fine. One person kept rattling and another drumming all the time they were dancing."

It has been often made the subject of remark that there was not in the Revolution army the equal of Washington for grace and dignity as he passed along the lines mounted on his noble white charger. He was a famous and fearless horseman, and this necessary accomplishment for a soldier he learned on his native farm and perfected in his surveying days. The horse for a surveyor in early colonial times was as necessary as his chain or chart, and we are told that Washington rode with such ease and dignity and with such control of his steed that none ever could hope to excel him. There is a story told of him which well illustrates his courage and daring in horsemanship even before manhood. His mother had a young horse untrained to the bit and on which

none hitherto had sat with success. Washington by stratagem, thanks to his athletic and agile frame, was able to mount this intractible brute in the open plain. The steed reared on his hind legs, plunged forward and raced furiously with lightning speed. The daring youth kept his seat and never lost control. When at last neither rider nor the proud and furious steed would yield, the unbending animal made one final effort to release himself by vaulting in the air and in the fall broke his heart, his rider escaping unhurt. The incident is very characteristic of the unyielding nature of our hero, a trait very conspicuous in his after life. We have been thus far minute in details of the early life and boyhood of Washington. We have purposely dwelt on what might in others seem trivial incidents of every-day occurrence. The little incidents of the youth of great men are important. We see the budding forth of genius, the blossoms peeping out of their tender covering in these minutiae of early life. In Washington's case they are small links in a long chain of evidence showing the hero in the boy, and from the study of his early life in detail there are lessons to be learned.

“ Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time :
Sailing o'er life's chequered main
Some forlorn or shipwrecked brother
Seeing may take heart again.”

The beauty and perfection of Washington's life has been as a star illuminating the horizon of American greatness. Even the wisest, bravest and best of her sons have nowhere found a higher ideal to emulate than that realized in the “ Father of his Country.” The more renowned the patriots and statesmen of the Republic, the more closely have they patterned their ideas on his and in their acts followed in his footsteps.

The life of a surveyor a hundred years ago in Virginia was an education in itself. It developed the physical and mental faculties. Scaling rocks and mountains, fording rivers, rowing and swimming hardened the body. These varied and arduous exercises were continued in Washington's case with little intermission, with no luxuries or social comforts, for three long years at a time when the boy was just budding into manhood. From his diary we learn that the labours of each day were severe and often performed in localities beset with many difficulties. "One day," he writes, "we mapped off 1,600 acres and slept that night at a squatter's hut, the first roof that covered us for ten days." There can be no doubt that the camping-out life in the savage surroundings of the forest wonderfully developed that fine manly form of his, strengthened and firmed his nerve and muscles and increased his energy, courage and vitality. No wonder that when he reached manhood he had no equal in agility and strength of body, and that in after years no amount of physical fatigue could force a murmur from his lips. His mind was also stimulated by the activities of his responsible position as well as by the many experiences that this life afforded him. He was trained to caution and daring in turn, and it was in those very qualities he excelled in the great undertakings in which he subsequently became engaged. The Red Indians, often mortal enemies of the colonials, treacherous and cunning as they were by nature, were to be guarded against and watched. Their lurking places were everywhere around. The mighty oaks of the forest, caves, ravines, creeks and winding rivers were their favourite retreats. At this particular period many of those savages across the Alleghenny borders were in alliance with their more northern brothers, who in turn were leagued with the French settlers. And of course in those colonizing days there was fierce rivalry for supremacy between the French and English. Caution and tact were indispensable qualifications for a surveyor in such dangerous surroundings.

Alertness and daring were also necessary, not alone to meet the possible assaults of the savage, but to ward off the ever imminent attacks of the wild beasts of the forest.

Undeterred by danger, our young hero pursued steadily the path where duty led him. During those years he learned much about the habits and customs and dispositions of the aborigines of the wilds. He studied them, not as an outsider from a distance, but like that famous Irishman, Sir William Johnson, who lived among them, and if Washington like him did not wear their savage dress and become their elected chief, he mixed in friendly intercourse with them, entered their wigwams, chatted with them and smoked the friendly pipe of peace with their leaders. Washington, like that other famous colonial, William Penn, sympathised with the Indians and was kind and conciliatory with them. That it was not without reason the Indians were hostile and suspicious of the colonials, both French and English, we may see rendered pretty obvious in the remark of an old Delaware sachem addressing Mr. Girst, an English trader: "The French," he says, "claim all the land on one side of the Ohio, the English claim all the land on the other side—now where does the Indians land lie?" Washington Irving appropriately adds: "Poor savages! Between their Fathers the French and their Brothers the English, they were in a fair way of being most lovingly shared out of the whole country." Penn and Washington were nearer the Christian ideals of civilizing and colonizing the savages than the greedy nations who aimed at their extermination. They saw in the Red man a brother, with a human soul, and an intellect equal under culture to that of the white man. They knew what Christian teaching demanded towards those savage aborigines. After all, what are we who boast of our long line of civilization but some generations removed from savage forefathers who worshipped idols and sacrificed human beings to their gods? To-day even do not our most Chris-

tian nations offer up to the idols of vanity, jealousy and greed of gold holocaust of thousands of brave soldiers? This kindly disposition then and intimate knowledge acquired in the forest were fruitful in advantages to Washington in his military and political life in later years when treating with and legislating for the Indian tribes of the Republic.

Another useful and advantageous experience he had during those years was his meeting and mixing with the pioneers of colonial life in their mountain and forest homes: The Green Mountain men, "those first European settlers," who trekked out West in the early colonizing days. They were a brave and fearless and industrious race, free from all control, acknowledging no law nor king. They were lords of the soil, which they were instrumental in colonizing, and like Crusoe, "monarchs of all they surveyed." They, with mattock and musket and spade, cleared the forest and built wooden huts in which they lived a rough but congenial life. The spirit of adventure was ever evident in the lives of these bushmen. Many a tale of daring and many an account of border raids did they narrate to young Washington during his sojourn among them. They had to clear those extensive ranches of theirs, forging ahead over hill and valley, rooting out mighty oaks, firing the underwood and wild grass, equipped with hatchet and billhook and never for a moment losing sight of gun and ammunition. A mutual regard sprang up between Washington and these brave men. He did not disdain to share their joys and sorrows, their games and sports, such as running, jumping, riding, shooting and throwing the hammer or iron bar, and he willingly partook of their rude hospitality and often sheltered himself in their humble log-built cabins. This social intercourse with the Green mountain men and the admiration in which they held the future General in those days did much in deciding the fortunes of the war of Independence at its most critical stage. It was Morian and Sumpter

in the South who retrieved the fortunes of war in Georgia and the Carolinas when Cornwallis and Tarleton and Rawdon were carrying desolation over the States, routing Gates and harassing Greene's ragged, famishing continentals. It was these backwoodsmen, led by those brave men, who like eagles swooped down from the mountain and forest and spread desolation among the well-fed and for a time victorious British troops. Their descent was sudden and unexpected, their attack always decisive and mostly successful. They just as suddenly disappeared after the skirmish into their mountain homes. It was those same hardy pioneers who, in the Ohio and Mississippi districts, kept the Canadians and British at bay under the leadership of Boone and Kenton and the famous Colonel George Clarke.

These years spent in parcelling out the lots on the estate of Lord Fairfax, marking the boundaries as they proceeded by burning and scorching the trees, supplied Washington with an experience which helped him afterwards to take in a countryside with a glance of his well-disciplined eye. He learned to approximate distances and heights. By glancing across the country he could tell at once the best location for camping or the best way by which to lead his forces. He could tell what positions might safely be fortified and in what localities forage and water might easily be procured. The experience acquired at this time gave him an advantage that cannot be overrated. Have we not seen in our own times how a handful of rude farmers were able for a long time to baffle, and harass, and often route, ten times their number because the British armies in South Africa were led by generals unused to mountain wilds and scraggy plains, but chiefly owing to ignorance of the geography of the territory which was the seat of warfare? The camp life of those early days gave our predestined General a foretaste of the life of a soldier. He had to "rough it."

Some extracts from his diary at this period will best demonstrate how trying was the ordeal he had to pass:

“ This morning went out and surveyed five hundred acres of land. Shot two wild turkeys. Began our intended business of laying off lots. A blowing, rainy day. Our straw upon which we were lying took fire, but I was luckily preserved by one of our men awakening when it was in a flame.

“ Next day our tent was blown down by the violence of the wind, and during the following night, owing to the smoke becoming intolerable, we were obliged to leave the tent to the mercy of the wind and fire.”

We may, it appears to us, safely assert in leaving these surveying experiences of our hero that his life at this time was admirably calculated to train and qualify him for the more arduous and responsible positions to which fortune and the unanimous voice of his countrymen called him in later years.

CHAPTER III.

FIRST MILITARY SERVICE.

WASHINGTON may be said to have made his first entry into the profession of arms when in 1751, at the age of nineteen, he was appointed by his native State to the important position of Major over the militia in his locality. The Virginians, whose State bordered on the Alleghany range, and whose boundaries on the West were undefined at this time, had unlimited scope for expansion across the Ohio river, in what is now the State of Kentucky, then a tract claimed by the Virginians, with the support of Pennsylvania and Maryland. This fertile and unknown region was mainly inhabited by wandering tribes of Indians, who were divided in their sympathies between the two European nations then striving for supremacy in North America. The French had gained their allegiance in great part in most of the localities stretching north of the present site of Pittsburgh, at that time known as Fort Du Quesne after a French general of that name. Its present name recalls the

days of a great English statesman. The territory around the lakes and the localities known as Chicago, Niagara, Detroit, at which places the French had forts, were undisputed French territory. The territory drained by the Ohio and its tributaries across to the Mississippi was the subject of contention between the French and English settlers and their respective home governments. When the treaty was signed at Aix la Chapelle, which brought peace to the Powers of Europe, the American boundaries were undefined. Hence the delimitation of this Ohio district was an open question. The richness of the land, the fine water-power of the rivers and the increasing trade in furs as time advanced, gave more importance to this locality. The French claimed the West as far as Ohio river and its tributaries and down the Mississippi to Orleans from its being discovered by French missionaries, Padre Marquette and Joliet, a Quebec trader, who sailed in their canoe down the Mississippi as early as 1673. The English claimed it by treaty with the six nations signed at Lancaster in the year 1744. The French contended that the tribes were intoxicated with rum and bribed to sell what they had no claim upon. In this way matters stood when Washington was appointed to the military command as we have mentioned.

The French, although their colonists were much fewer in this disputed territory, had many advantages over the English. It was French missionaries who explored the lakes and the districts surrounding the Ohio. These early pioneers were kind to the Red tribes, and by presents and by preaching Christianity to them made many converts to Catholicity, and many of the chiefs had accepted the belt of peace. And just as the Indian became attached to one nationality among the white races, so they became foes to the others. In their hearts the Indians had little love for the Europeans, whom they looked on as intruders amongst them. The French had forts built around the lakes and southward as far as Du Quesne, and from these fortresses

they were made aware of the movements of the English settlers, squatters and traders in the disputed territory. To secure their isolated subjects against French and Indian aggressions and to protect the traders in those parts, it became a matter of necessity for the Virginian burgesses to take immediate action to defend the unprotected backwoodsmen across the Alleghany mountains and to repel the inroads of their Gallic competitors. For this purpose they divided the State into military districts and appointed a major over each, whose duty it was to recruit from among the settlers, drill and prepare for action a company of men fit for military service. In the appointment of Washington, at the age of nineteen years, to drill and command the militia of his native county, we see the beginning of his future military greatness. His suitability for so important a position must have been very marked when he, a boy in years, was selected to be military leader of the manhood of his district. His character, though not fully developed, must have pointed him out as conspicuously qualified for the important charge. He was of a daring and romantic disposition. His inclinations were early directed towards a soldier's life. His family had an hereditary ambition for military glory. His brother and his brother's father-in-law had distinguished themselves in their country's service as officers in the army. During the past few years from his school days he lived and associated much with Lawrence and the Fairfaxes. Hence his young mind must have been accustomed to tales of daring and accounts of fame and renown gained in war by his friends and family connections. The stories of border life and encounters with Red Indians by the early settlers tended to fire the mind of Washington with a desire for martial glory and spur him on to seek fame as a soldier in the noble cause of defending the lives and homes and property of neighbours and friends and fellow-colonials.

In Upham's "Life," already referred to, we have the

following remarks which seem to truthfully reflect the estimation in which the future Commander-in-Chief was held by his countrymen:

“ The reason why Washington was selected from among young and old to lead the forces of his division was because he struck all beholders as a noble specimen of humanity as of a larger pattern than the ordinary mould of the race. It was not merely his personal appearance, but his whole manner—an harmonious combination of all the elements which contribute to awaken interest and impart authority which produced this effect. This indescribable and remarkable impression of his personal aspect and character became stronger and deeper the more he was known. It was confirmed and renewed from day to day on the minds and hearts of those most intimate with him, and was at once felt and admired by strangers. It was a kind of mysterious charm which sustained him in difficult circumstances and proved the great element of his power and the secret of his success.”

A little after Washington had entered on the arduous duties of recruiting and drilling his rustic forces, he was called away to accompany his brother Lawrence to the Barbadoes, the latter having set out there in a fruitless quest of health. Lawrence was far spent in consumption and thought that a change of air in those hot regions would be beneficial. His efforts to combat the disease were unavailing, and he died at an early age, leaving behind him a wife and only daughter, who also died when eighteen. Lawrence was much attached to our hero. He was a highly respected citizen, and for some years had been Burgess in the Virginian Council. He had considerable interest in the country both as a trader in Ohio and an estate-holder at home. He left George manager of Mount Vernon, and the future President afterwards succeeded to the property and lived on it when a private citizen. Here he died and here on the lovely Potomac he is interred in the family vault.

After the death of his brother, Washington, with the vigour and enthusiasm of youth, entered on his new duties as a soldier. He visited the several counties in his division, inspected the various corps, instructed the officers and exhorted his subordinates to be most insistent on drill practices and discipline, so that the soldiers might not prove inefficient in action. (I should here mention that he had himself suitably trained at his brother's residence, Mount Vernon, to undertake the position of drilling and disciplining recruits). There was much necessity at this particular time for a strong active body of militia to give protection to the scattered settlers and to guard the traders of the newly-formed Ohio Company from Indian and French aggression. The French were fast hemming in the colonials from the East by two armies which were marching from different points. One of these expeditions was descending from the Lakes and had already built forts in the Ohio and Mississippi districts. The other force was coming up the great river from New Orleans. The French organization was perfect. They had a chain of forts, sixty in number, running from the Gulf to the Lakes. In these forts they kept stores of food and ammunition and had them guarded more or less efficiently by French and Indian guards. Through these forts the Governor of Canada, whose headquarters were at Fort Detroit, was well informed of the enemy's movements. There was grave danger under these circumstances to the English interests across the Alleghany ranges. Into the relative rights and titles of these jealous nationalities to the disputed and unreclaimed territory we need not enter. Whether the fact that the French were the first explorers or that the English made the first treaty with the Red men constitutes the valid claim, let the constitutional historian decide. That the French colonists were few and that the English were becoming numerous are undisputed facts. Hence, if the British colonials were to be protected it behoved the colonial authorities to bestir themselves. The

English squatters were settling down year by year in these fertile districts, and as they were increasing in numbers so they were spreading out more westward, at much risk from Indian and French aggression and barbarity. It was to the interest of the English colonists that war should be proclaimed instantly against the French, since they insisted on building forts and posting soldiers in their neighbourhood.

The first move in the direction of hostilities between these Powers contending for supremacy in North America was the despatch of a letter from the Governor of Virginia, Dinwiddie, to the Governor-General of Canada. He commissioned Major Washington to proceed from Williamsburgh, the then capital of Virginia, to inform the Frenchman that if he did not dismantle his forts and withdraw his forces from the Ohio territory hostilities would immediately commence. Washington, having been duly commissioned and carrying with him Dinwiddie's letter, started on his mission on the 30th October, 1753, on the same day on which his commission was dated. He was accompanied by seven mounted companions, with baggage and provender for the journey, which was a long one of nearly six hundred miles. The season was the depth of winter, during much frost and snow and rain. His road lay through a pathless wilderness, over mountain and rivers and ravines and through forests, whose negotiation was only possible by following the trails of the Indians or the buffalo tracks. The journey moreover was mainly through a hostile region in the hands of cruel Indians and hostile French troops. It was a momentous expedition, on which depended the lives and the possessions of the British colonists and the future progress and expansion of the States themselves.

On this occasion Washington had with him an Indian interpreter named John Davison, who knew the localities through which the expedition should have to pass. He was also accompanied by a Dutchman named Jacob Vanbraam, who knew a smattering of French.

Washington and his party arrived at Will's Creek on the 15th November, and here they met a wealthy settler named Gist, who joined them in the expedition. The next point of importance, eighty miles distant from the creek, at which they arrived after eleven days was Monoghahela. Rain fell in torrents during this part of the journey. The valleys and rivers owing to the excessive rains and snows were inundated, and often they had to wade up to the waist in mud and water. It was a truly arduous and perilous experience. There were sources of danger everywhere around our young ambassador by night and by day. The wild beasts of the forest, the wary and treacherous Indians, whose abodes were in those pathless forests, around those winding creeks and among the giant oaks, and against whose attacks he had constantly to be on the alert.

We cannot do better than treat our readers to another quotation from Upham, who speaking in his "Life" of the difficulties of this Embassy, says: "In treading their way through pathless and primeval forests, obstructions met them at every stage. Sometimes a mighty elm or pine or hemlock that had borne the storms of hundreds of years and fallen at last, its thundering crash resounding through the startled wilderness, would be found stretched directly across their line of travels. Sometimes the thick underbush and entangling briers would absolutely forbid their progress; a steep and lofty rock would uplift its brow before them, a wild mountain torrent or a deep bog or an inaccessible swamp or a precipitous range of hills would intercept their way. In such cases they would have to wind round and return for miles perhaps upon their track. At the close of a day, contending with obstacles like these, the weary and exhausted party would select some spot for their night encampment. After unloading and providing for their luggage and horses they would clear away the snow from the base of some tree or rock, kindle a fire with logs and branches and thus melt the snow around, whilst for a bed

green boughs stretched on the ground sufficed for their wants. Above this they would spread their tent by stretching long poles into the ground in the form of a semicircle, open towards the fire, bringing their upper ends together at a point and covering them over with green boughs. After partaking of such refreshments as are commonly provided for such excursions, which were generally plain and coarse, and much relished withal by hungry men, having enjoyed their repast the weary travellers arranged their watches for the night and stretched themselves with feet towards the fire, blankets over their heads and bodies, to rest for the night on their bough beds."

This was a rare though beneficial experience for a young man ambitious of military laurels. It satisfied his mind, filled as it was with the idea of "shining most in fame by daring most in danger." The surroundings were rare and romantic. Few have the opportunity in their lives of drinking knowledge at so primitive and natural a source. The dreams of his boyhood were being realized in this expedition with so many dangers to be faced, with its hair-breadth escapes from Red men and wild beasts, from mountain torrent and swollen river, from snow and rain, and in the sweet contemplation of the renown to be his on the fulfilment of his arduous and responsible task.

The youthful Washington and his party on this expedition suggest a subject on which the historic painter might lavish his greatest efforts, and which the writer of romance might delineate with his most glowing imagery. The central figure and hero of the episode was a youth of rare endowments of mind and body, noble in form, erect, and manly, and agile. Consider, too, that the eyes of two nations were upon him, that the answer to his mission meant war or peace. The lives of his border brothers were in the balance; England and France, and in fact Europe, waited in expectancy the issue. The question was in plain terms, who should become supreme in North America,

who was to be ruler of over two million square miles of territory?

We need not at this distance of time follow step by step our hero in his weary itinerary. The rivers he crossed are still running as they did a hundred and fifty years ago, still rushing on, winding about and leaping over cataracts and round the bases of lofty mountains, meandering through swampy meadows and sedgy grasses. All else is changed save those rivers deserted now by the savage men and beasts that once roamed their banks and denuded of the sheltering forests that were to them a refuge and a home.

He passed through Fort Du Quesne, which was the outer fort of the French on the site of modern Pittsburg in the heart of Pennsylvania and Venago, an Indian village, in which the French troops had strongly encamped themselves. On the way through these parts Washington, with the trained eye of a surveyor and with the quick intelligence now experienced in making observations, gained much valuable information concerning the strength of the enemy and their designs regarding the Virginian backwoodsmen, etc., etc. On December the 11th, six weeks after his departure from Williamsburgh, he delivered his message to the Commander, Chevalier de St. Pierre, who, at French Creek, near the shores of Lake Erie, had subordinate command of these parts in the French interests. He was courteously received and hospitably entertained by this elderly and ceremonious officer, and after three days he departed with the desired message to the Virginian Governor. Whilst he delayed for a reply at the French quarters he had been neither deaf nor blind. He had noted the strength of the enemy's forts. He calculated the number of Indians and their sentiments regarding the rival nations. It was no insignificant part of his mission to inform himself about the dispositions of the Indian tribes, and it took no ordinary tact and diplomacy to alienate many of them from the French interests and make them take up the "speech belt"

of the British. Washington, by disarming the animosity of many of the chiefs and gaining the allegiance of the half King of the Delawares through the powerful aid of John Gist, their white friend, did no mean service to his country. He ensured also that the trading of these tribes in furs would be carried on in the interests of the London-Ohio Company instead of as in the past with the Canadians.

The homeward journey in the midst of winter was the most trying ordeal of the expedition. He was compelled to abandon his horses, take to his canoe, or wade often waist deep in mire. Once he was thrown into water ten feet deep and only escaped drowning by seizing a floating raft which landed him on a river island down the current. Here he lay unprotected, with garments soaked, the night frost congealing his clothing to the stiffness of a board. That he survived such an ordeal one must accept as powerful evidence that Providence preserved him for better things. During the journey also he escaped a treacherous shot aimed at him from a distance of fifteen yards from an Indian rifle. This Indian was his guide in these parts. An extract from the diary which he wrote up from day to day will be instructive :

“ The whole expedition,” he says, “ has been extremely fatiguing, so much so that it is impossible to conceive our trials. We had nothing but cold and rain and snow throughout the entire journey. Escapes from Indians’ rifles and escapes from drowning.”

Washington Irving, at the end of his narrative of this expedition, has a most appropriate passage with which this chapter might fitly end :

“ The prudence, sagacity, resolution, firmness and self-devotion manifested by him throughout,” says the historian, “ his admirable tact and self-possession in treating with fickle savages and crafty white men, the soldier’s eye with which he had noticed the commanding and defensible points of the country and everything that would bear upon



COLUMBUS DISCOVERING AMERICA.

military operations as well as his physical endurance and courage in danger . . . all pointed him out, not merely to the governor, but to the public at large as one eminently fitted for important civil as well as military duties of trust. It is an expedition which may be considered the foundation of his fortunes. From that moment he was the rising hope of Virginia."

CHAPTER IV.

WASHINGTON IN TEMPORARY COMMAND.

As a result of Washington's mission it was made patent, in the reply of the French Commander, that he had no authority to withdraw his forces from the disputed territories. If any doubt on this point remained it was soon removed, for the activity of the French was visible from Lake Erie to New Orleans, up the Mississippi and down the Ohio, across to Du Quesne and the Alleghany ridges. Governor Dinwiddie summoned the Virginian Congressmen to meet him at Williamsburgh, and at the same time wrote to the State Legislatures of Maryland and Pennsylvania asking for their co-operation in repelling the French and their savage allies from their borders. The mother country was to be represented in two corps of regulars ordered down from New York. The command of the united forces, regulars and militia, was to be given to Colonel Frye, Washington being appointed second in command with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

With the united forces of Virginia he set out to Wills Creek to wait the arrival of Frye. The latter died however on his way, and the supreme command temporarily devolved on Washington. When encamped at the Great Meadows he learned from scouts of the existence of small detachments of French soldiers under Colonel Jumonville. This was Washington's first encounter in actual warfare,

and in it he was most successful. He slew ten of the enemy, one of them the leader, and captured over twenty whom he sent as prisoners of war to the Virginian capital. This brush might be considered the first actual open hostilities in these parts between the French and English. It was looked upon by many French writers of military affairs in later years as murder and not actual warfare, on the ground that the French were bearing messages for a treaty to the English Commander, but Washington strongly contended that the captured and defeated corps were spies and that had they not been thwarted they would have been instrumental in bringing about the destruction of the English garrison. Letters found on the dead French Commander confirmed the suspicions of Colonel Washington.

This affair sounded the tocsin for a war which had been brewing for many years, a war spurred on by racial hate, by religious animosity, and by the ambition of the two Powers for supremacy. The result of the Seven Years' War, ending with the capture of Quebec and Montreal, was to put an end for ever to French rights of sovereignty on American territory. After this skirmish Washington entrenched himself in a fort which he aptly called "Fort Necessity" in the plains to which also he gave the name "The Great Meadows," and from this place he despatched forces to engage with the approaching enemy. It soon became evident that his adversaries, more numerous, better equipped, and nearer their base of supplies, would eventually overpower his less efficient militia. He held out however for a time against great odds, and gained such conditions for his forces on capitulation that his yielding was on the most honourable terms. His soldiers were allowed to return to Virginia with all the honours of war, with flags flying, drums beating and all their military stores except the artillery which, by the terms of surrender, was to be destroyed. The captured French were to be released, and no hostile acts on his most Christian Majesty's lands should

be attempted for a space of a year. Washington himself was welcomed home more like a hero than a vanquished commander. The State of Virginia voted him a message of thanks for his bravery and courage under most difficult circumstances, and above all he earned the enduring affection of his comrades in arms.

Our narrative so far, it may be remarked, has had none of those marvellously brilliant chapters which abound in classical military history, nor shall we be able to record of Washington later in his long and arduous campaign as Commander-in-Chief any brilliant victories, such as Cæsar or Napoleon, Nelson or Wolfe achieved. We saw him as envoy returning from the Canadian borders more like a famished and hunted fugitive, clothed in Indian skins, with bleeding feet and emaciated frame. Again, after his fruitless encounter with the enemy at Du Quesne, he returns a fugitive, if not a prisoner. Such was his life throughout. He never, during the whole of his long military career, had the good fortune to meet with even one opportunity for displaying that military genius which so dazzles the mind of men and enhances the glory of mortal heroes. It is doubtful indeed if his military talent lay at all in the direction of such prodigies. But it was of the essence of his peculiar genius to find victory in seeming defeat. He was never demoralized by a reverse, and from the adverse experience of to-day he learned how victory might be his on the morrow.

The two regiments of British regulars, which were to have been led by Frye, arrived on the 20th February, 1755, in Virginia, and were now to be commanded by General Braddock, who had been placed in command of all the Continental and British forces operating across the Alleghenies. As soon as Braddock arrived in Virginia he anxiously enquired for Washington. Not alone had the latter's fame already spread over the States, but owing to the favourable despatches of the Governors and the publication in London

of the journal kept by him during his expedition to Lake Erie, containing as it did invaluable information about a territory little known in England, about the relative strength of the French and English, and the disposition of the Indians across the borders, he had become favourably known at Westminster. Since the disaster at the Great Meadows he had resigned his commission. He saw little hope for a colonial soldier rising to fame in these wars, seeing that officers of same rank among the regulars took precedence of the militia officers, and he saw little chance of effectually aiding his countrymen as a subordinate under supercilious and punctilious English officers. Perhaps the immediate cause of his resignation was a difference with the headstrong Governor Dinwiddie, who refused to release the French prisoners according to the terms of surrender at Fort Necessity. Braddock knew the work of Washington, and after some opposition from his mother, which proved ineffectual, he consented to again enter the service: this time however as one of the General's four *aides de camp*. Although a born soldier he was without the knowledge, in the military profession, which alone can be acquired by serving under a trained and experienced general. That Braddock was ill adapted with all his theoretical knowledge of military tactics to cope with the Indian lurking in his rugged mountain passes the sequel to this expedition will reveal. Yet he was capable of teaching the rules and discipline of the orthodox art of war, and this side of military knowledge and experience Washington was desirous of learning, because his passion for military life was strong. Although young in years, he was considered old enough in wisdom and experience to be admitted into the counsels of the governors of the five States affected by the border war and the generals and other commanders who met at Alexandria to consult and deliberate on the best ways and means to be adopted to successfully repel the enemy and confine him to his Canadian territory, and he was by far the most

remarkable personage in this council of war. Although Braddock arrived in Virginia in the beginning of 1755, we still in the month of June find him some days' journey from the French headquarters at Du Quesne. He carried too much baggage, had too much felling of timber and cutting of roads to allow his brilliant array of trained veterans, over two thousand strong, to pass along with their waggons and artillery. Washington, however, prevailed so far over old cut-and-dry military tactics with Braddock as to induce him to expedite his journey by leaving the waggons behind, proceeding with scouts and reconnoitring parties in advance. Whilst Braddock's forces were marching on the French, Washington was seized with a violent fever, and after some days was most reluctantly compelled under medical advice to delay on his journey for a time. The jolting of the pack cart, in which he was confined, would, it seemed, have proved fatal. Before he broke his journey under advice of his friends, Dr. Craik and Dr. Mercer, of whom we shall hear more in connection with the life of our hero, he prayed his general not to engage the enemy until he might be sufficiently recovered to rejoin. The fever did very soon sufficiently abate—thanks to Dr. James' medicine as Washington surmised—to allow him to hasten in pursuit, and on the 8th July he came in touch with the main body at Monongahela, fifteen miles distance from Fort Du Quesne.

On the morning of the 9th Braddock put his army in motion. They were arranged in the following order:—A body of three hundred men under Colonel Gage, of Bunker Hill fame, was in front. Immediately after them came another company of two hundred. The General himself, with the artillery, occupied the centre, while the main body with the baggage brought up the rear. It was the hope of Braddock to overhaul the French at sunset. "It was," says an eye-witness, "a lovely sight to see on this bright July morning, so magnificent a body of men, high in hopes,

that before the sun should sink beneath the hills and forests from which they had just emerged, they should have achieved fame in defeating the foe. The prancing steeds and richly-decorated riders, gleaming literally in the dazzling sun, with scarlet and gold, and the inspiring roll of music played to martial airs, echoing from hill to hill and resounding along the valleys, was something rare in such a wilderness and was calculated to arouse the highest hopes in the minds of all."

All the circumstances were most encouraging—a fit and fearless and proud army was led by Braddock, who was only second in public estimation to the Duke of Cumberland himself—as they gaily marched along with drums beating, colours flying proudly, flapping and glistening in the sultry sun and fanning breeze. Their bugles sounding defiance to the foe, all hearts were cheered with jubilation. Washington, jubilant and well pleased with the grand display, whispered, as he stood by the side of his chief, a word of warning in his ears. He admonished him that his tactics were not prudent, that the treacherous woods and winding creeks in those unknown parts demanded precaution that might be neglected in the open country. There the enemy might be lurking behind oaks or cliffs or in deep ravines or overhead in the cliffs, waiting to spring upon them like tigers on their prey and decimate them from their secure cover. The confident old commander, however, trusting to his own knowledge and the rules of war and what he considered the excellent disposition of his forces, heeded not the warning of the youth. Well would it have been had he listened to our hero's warning, to employ Indian scouts to reconnoitre the passes on both sides in front of the advancing column and lead his men with due precaution in single file. If he had done so such a rout as that which followed would never have taken place. Just about mid-day, however, on this lovely 9th of July, a sharp and sudden firing of shots is heard from every direction overhead.

Almost before the disaster was realized the wild men of the woods were mowing down the splendid army in every direction. At the first attack of the invisible foe the troops came at a stand-still, then fell into confusion, and finally stampeded. They saw companions falling by their side and no foe whom they might attack. They saw their brave General and fearless officers in wild fury, ordering and counter-ordering, the merciless fusillade continuing the while from cliff and ravine, bushwood and behind the mountain oak. The rank and file at last became uncontrollable and the retreat was hurried and general. The main force, chiefly composed of regulars, did not halt, although unpursued by the invisible foe—so terrified were they, by the startling suddenness of the encounter and by the yelling of the Indians—until they were fifty miles from Du Quesne. The flight of the tinselled dragoons caused Franklin to exclaim: “That it was the most extraordinary victory ever obtained and the farthest flight ever made, and goes to show that our extolled ideas of the powers of the British regulars had not been well founded.”

Braddock and twenty-six officers were slain. Thirty officers were wounded, seven hundred out of the three thousand of the rank and file of Braddock's army were slain and many prisoners were captured. All the artillery were abandoned. Washington was loud in praise of the bravery of the General and his officers, but the men under him *all*—except the Virginians—acted in a most cowardly manner.

Colonel Orme, one of the surviving aides-de-camp, thus describes the scene in a letter to the Governor of Pennsylvania: “The men were so extremely deaf to the exhortations of the General and his officers that they fired away in the most irregular manner all their ammunition and then fled and could not be rallied until they reached Colonel Dunbar's army, six miles in the rear. The officers, in attempting to rally them, were sacrificed. The General

had five horses shot under him and finally succumbed to a bullet which entered his lung. Washington," he adds, "fought like a tiger regardless of danger." Many years after an old Indian chief related how he and his braves in this encounter directed their rifles at him, but after aiming ineffectually for some time ceased firing on one whom they considered the Great Spirit specially protected from their bullets. He had two horses shot under him and four bullets passed through his garments, yet he never received a wound. A story is told by an eye-witness which shows his reckless daring and extraordinary strength of body. It is said that in the excitement, although scarcely recovered from the fever, he turned the brass cannon on the enemy, after the gunners had fled, dragging it along himself with one hand and lighting the fuse with the other, and by his exertions ploughing the ground as with a coulter. After this engagement Washington retired in disgust from military service and settled down on his farm at Mount Vernon. He felt keenly the slaughter of his brave Virginians, of whom only forty returned with him to camp.

Washington, speaking of the English regulars, says of them that they ran as sheep before dogs, and it was impossible to rally them, and what made the defeat the more remarkable was the fact, that they were defeated by a force of Indians and French probably less than one to six.

The ill-fated Braddock lingered three days after his mortal wound and was buried where he died at Great Meadows, where Washington was a year before surrounded and captured. In the absence of the chaplain, who was wounded, Washington read the funeral service, and in silence and gloom was laid to rest this most unfortunate commander. The Virginian Congress welcomed and honoured their brave young officer and the few men that remained of their decimated Virginian militia. Three hundred pounds was awarded Washington as an honorary reward for his services to the State.

Washington, writing to his brother, speaks thus of the disaster: "As I have heard since my arrival at this place a circumstantial account of my death and dying speech, I take this opportunity of contradicting the first and assuring you that I have not composed the latter. But by the all-powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human expectation: for I had four bullets through my coat and two horses shot under me and I escaped, though death was levelling my companions on every side of me.. We have been most scandalously beaten, but I will give you details when I arrive at Mount Vernon."

It is a remarkable fact that, although disaster and consternation followed this campaign, Washington, in the midst of the general gloom caused by the check to the advances of the British arms, rose in public estimation, and that when blame was falling all around him nothing but approbation was heard of his courage and daring. British officers were compelled to acknowledge with enthusiasm his heroism and his romantic, chivalrous valour. Well might his native Virginia welcome him back safe to his beloved Mount Vernon and his mother, and no wonder that congratulations at his deliverance from the valley of death were numerous and sincere.

The Rev. Mr. Davis thus prophetically spoke of his deliverance: "I may mention that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has preserved for some important service to his country."

CHAPTER V.

HIS FINAL COLONIAL SERVICE.

THE disturbed state of the border territories, with the Red Indians and the French in alliance, constantly harassing and annoying the colonials, did not long allow Washington to enjoy his retirement from active service. It was plainly

evident that the tactics of a regular well-equipped and drilled army were unavailing in such surroundings. A well-manned militia force, it was contended, would be more effective. An army trained to rough border life, familiar with the defiles and passes and not wholly ignorant of the habits and pursuits of the enemy opposed to them, was urgently needed to protect the isolated colonists from plunder and murder. It was now a matter of supreme importance for the States affected to unite and co-operate in self-defence. Pennsylvania, Maryland, Carolina and Georgia as well as Virginia were involved in this border war. It may safely be asserted that had not the colonial internecine dispute been settled prior to the years when England attempted to tyrannize over and tax the States, the Declaration of Independence would have been proclaimed in vain and the forces necessary to repel the British arms would have been wasted in preserving peace on the borders and defending themselves against their French neighbours. Little did England think when aiding the States, to confine the French mainly across the St. Lawrence, she was training her own subjects in military tactics, uniting them by the bond of a common object, inspiring them with pride in their own prowess, and, as in the case of Braddock's defeat, a contempt for the pompous display of paid soldiers of fortune and veterans unskilled in the rough and rugged methods of colonial campaigning. Hence what was seemingly a duty of self-preservation, and a duty in the interests of England and carried out under English Governors briefed from London, was at the same time a necessary preliminary to the future success of their efforts for complete independence from foreign control. Washington was accordingly recalled from retirement once more to be placed in charge of the forces now about to be augmented to two thousand able-bodied men for defensive duties on the frontiers. Just prior to his appointment he received a letter from his mother urging him, as was her wont, not again to engage in military

service. His reply is worthy of reproduction here. He says:

“Honoured Madam,—If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again I shall; but if the command is pressed upon me by the general voice of the country and offered on such terms as cannot be refused, it would reflect dishonour on me not to comply, and that I am sure must and ought to give you greater uneasiness than my going in an honourable command. Upon no other terms will I accept.” The Virginian Government were liberal in their terms with Washington in this appointment. They voted £40,000 for the purpose and placed the entire guidance of the forces to be raised in his hands. The territory to be protected extended along a frontier line a few hundred miles long, and this entire extent of territory demanded the division of his forces and their location at suitable points along the frontier. It was truly a difficult task to drill, equip, command, and distribute such an inefficient force over so extensive an area. It was a levy of raw recruits, unused to discipline and subordination. Many were leaving, from time to time deserting, and owing to the monotony of life on those dangerous frontiers few were really in love with the service. There was no visible foe to ward off. The invisible foe often proves the hardest to conquer. There was no marching and counter-marching demanded by the situation. The enemy might at any moment, by night or by day, swoop down from their mountain fortress, or their wooded seclusion and harass the planters around them, create a panic in the district, burn their huts, murder their defenceless families, and, like the wild beast carrying back its plunder to its lair, swoop off with their property with lightning speed to their secluded villages.

It was the duty of Washington, with his scattered forces, to checkmate those marauders and protect the lives and property of the settlers. In this thankless and almost impossible task he was constantly distressed and ill at ease.

The squatters with all his vigilance were being harassed. Fugitives were constantly flocking to his camp from the surrounding districts. The danger was ever imminent as the invisible enemy was never far away. His army was badly paid, badly fed and poorly clad. To add to these difficulties he had secret enemies plotting against him in Congress, and even the Governor was not friendly disposed. Dinwiddie was outvoted in having a friend of his placed in the command to which Washington was called. There were provincial jealousies regarding priority of command as well as disposition of the forces: an array of difficulties by the way that stared him in the face during the entire Revolution campaign. To have his status recognized and the matters in dispute righted he was compelled to set off to Boston, where General Shirley, the Commander-in-Chief of the entire forces was stationed. Just as at a later date the intriguing faction became unbearable, and as Dinwiddie was only too eager to listen to the plotters, against him, he was on the point of resigning the thankless task assigned him when a most urgent and unanimous chorus of public opinion from all quarters urged him on public and patriotic grounds to continue at his post. Colonel Fairfax wrote him: "Your endeavours in the cause of your country must redound to your honour. Your name is toasted at every table." Carter, another friend, wrote him: "How grieved we are to hear that you contemplate retiring from the service of your country. No, sir, rather let Braddock's bed be your own than anything that might discolour those laurels which I promise myself are kept in store for you."

The Speaker of the Virginian Burgess wrote him: "Our hopes, dear George, are fixed on you to bring our affairs to a happy issue." And even Dinwiddie, who, it would seem, was out of touch with the House over which he ruled, said of him: "That he is a person much beloved and has gone through much hardships in the service. None can raise more soldiers than he." Washington's constant exhorta-

tion to Congress and to his country was that a defensive policy was unavailing to protect the colonists. A renewed attack must needs be made to capture Fort Du Quesne and expel the French and their allies from the Ohio valley. The great Chatham was for a similar bold policy, and some time later he carried it through with success.

There is no doubt that the guarding of so vast a territory with a handful of isolated corps was a splendid training for the future Commander-in-Chief, a training that fitted him to defend the entire continent. His repeated difficulties with the authorities about the adoption of aggressive tactics and the increase and better equipment of the army were merely a minor prelude to the same class of troubles arising under other circumstances from similar causes during the momentous war for Independence. The weary waiting and guarding in this quasi guerilla warfare broke down his strong constitution and again fever attacked him, and for a time he was compelled to keep a sick bed at Mount Vernon. There for four months he lay, bordering, as he himself wrote, on "the brink of dissolution." To a friend at this time he says: "I have been reduced to great extremity and have now much reason to fear that I am approaching decay." A similar weary, ineffectual watching before Quebec some years later brought upon the immortal Wolfe a like malignant fever that threatened his life. Whilst on a visit to Williamsburgh, to consult an eminent doctor, he learned of the change of Ministry in England, and when he was informed that Pitt was Prime Minister his old anxiety seized him to join his troops. The tactics of the late Ministry had lowered the prestige of England by sea and land. Defeat and disaster followed each other, not alone in the American wars, but in Europe and at sea. The old enemy, the Bourbons, seemed to be everywhere victorious. Pitt was an able statesman, and his views about the conduct of the Intercolonial wars coincided with what Washington had for some time in vain

advocated, his opinion being that a forward aggressive course was the only effective policy. By such action the Indians would be held back from supporting their ancient allies, the French, the colonials would be encouraged to co-operate in greater force, and would feel proud of their motherland. In fact Pitt's policy, to rehabilitate the lost prestige of England, was to dazzle and astonish by a daring and bold campaign, attacking the enemy by sea and land with all the forces he could command at different points, which policy, as events showed, proved him to be the greatest statesman of his age, the first Commoner of his nation. Washington accordingly, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered, resumed his command.

To carry out the designs of the Home Secretary a large fleet was sent across the sea to conquer the French and drive them from America. Some 50,000 men and the bravest and most daring generals in the army of England were sent to lead them. It is matter of common historical knowledge how the brave Wolfe and Montgomery of Revolution fame and Amhurst drove the French colonists and army from Arcadia, now Nova Scotia, how they captured Louisburgh at the mouth of the St. Lawrence and took possession of Crown Point and Ticonderoga in New York State, how the forts on the site of the present Niagara, Detroit, Kingston and Lough Erie fell in quick succession on the approach of the English and colonial arms, and finally how Quebec and later Montreal yielded up the keys of their citadels. It would seem as if Pitt possessed the magic of infusing into his officers and men the patriotism and courage that burned in his own rugged and ambitious bosom. As Lord Macaulay says: "He gave his own inspiration of patriotism to the nation and to every soldier who shouldered a musket and to every General who led a corps." So that he was able to command the wealth of a vast nation and the valiant soldiers of a brave people in every attempt he made to increase the power and prestige of his country,

and to accordingly make flourish by war in every direction the commerce of the nation. We are not concerned here with the Northern armies above referred to, since Washington was fighting in the districts on the Ohio, whose forces had Du Quesne for their objective. The force set apart for this part of the campaign was 6,000, made up of regulars and colonial militia under the command of General Forbes. Washington held an appointment under this Commander as Colonel of the Virginians. The prospect this expedition held out to Washington was what he longed for. He had achieved the object he so long desired and so long advocated. Soon he was to pass through scenes which would remain memorable to him. He was again to see Fort Necessity, which he himself built and where he, hard pressed by forces superior to his in numbers, had surrendered. He was to march in the track of Braddock to Monongahela, where that unlucky General lost his life and army. He would review again the scenes of his first public service as Ambassador to French Creek, and he would now see the end of many years' strife brought about by his united effort of all the available forces, and an effort destined to result in the capture of the last citadel of the enemy. The sequel of this Southern expedition is soon told. Although the English General was painfully slow in his marches—and slowness with English officers does not always mean caution, as we saw in Braddock's case—and although the army was as formerly hampered with too much baggage and too much levelling of roads and repairing of bridges, yet their work was made easy by the enemy themselves. The Canadian forces were all engaged in protecting the forts and fighting the foe across the borders, and consequently the Du Quesne forces, unprepared for so formidable a force as Forbes was leading and being ill provided with stores for a protracted siege and situated as they were at too great a distance from Detroit, the base of supplies, deemed it wiser to burn the fort and decamp in canoes and boats up the Ohio. Thus

was ended, until Revolution times, Indian and French-Canadian opposition to the colonials in this district.

Washington, now that he saw the end of trouble to the backwoods men, had no desire to serve longer as a soldier, and after the return of his forces to Virginia he bade adieu to the army, and for seventeen years lived privately at his lovely home on the banks of the Potomac. On the occasion of his resignation of the commission of Commander of the Virginian forces in December, 1758, at the age of twenty-six, after a military life of six years, he was presented with an address by his officers. This document, coming from a body of men who knew him for all those years of their service in the cause for which they took up arms, speaks more eloquently than any words of ours, and will be most appropriate in this place. The exact words of the address were as follows :

“ Sir—We, your most obedient and affectionate officers, beg leave to express to you our great concern at the disagreeable news we have received of your determination to resign the command of that corps in which we have under you long served.

“ The happiness we have enjoyed and the honour we have acquired, together with the mutual regard that has always subsisted between you and your officers, have implanted so sensible an affection in the minds of us all that we cannot be silent on this critical occasion. In our earliest infancy you took us under your tuition, trained us up in the practice of that discipline which alone can contribute good troops, from the punctual observance of which you never suffered the least deviation.

“ Your steady adhesion to justice, your quick discernment and invariable regard to merit, wisely intended to inculcate those genuine sentiments of true honour and passion for glory from which the greatest military achievements have been derived, first heightened our natural emulation and our desire to excel. With what alacrity we have

hitherto discharged our duty, with what cheerfulness we have encountered the severest toils, we submit to yourself and flatter ourselves that we have in a great measure answered your expectations.

“ Judge, then, how sensibly we must be affected with the loss of such an excellent Commander, such a sincere friend and so affable a companion. How rare it is to find those amiable qualities blended together in one man. How great is the loss of such a man? Without your guidance we may bid adieu to that superiority at strict discipline and that happy union and harmony in which we are known to excel.

“ Our country also will lose as well as your officers. Where will it be that we shall meet a man so excellent in military affairs and one so renowned for patriotic conduct and courage? Who knows so well the enemy, their courage, their strength, and who so beloved by his soldiers who so able to hold on a high plane the military character of Virginia. . . . In you we place the most implicit confidence. Only can our cause in arms prosper under a man like you that we know and love.

“ If the exigencies of your private concerns compel you to leave us, point out one to lead us in whom we may trust and whose principles are above reproach.

“ Frankness and sincerity are the true characteristics of an officer, and we trust you won’t accuse us of flattery, for we have hitherto considered you the actuating soul of our corps, and we shall ever pay the most invariable regard to your good will and pleasure, and shall be ever ready to show by our acts how much we respect and esteem you.”

These words afford a most extraordinary public mark of esteem, and we make no apology for their insertion here in full. And we cannot better conclude this chapter than by giving an extract from that most erudite and minute life of Washington, written by America’s greatest Chief Justice :

“ The high opinion formed of him,” says Marshall, “ was

not confined to the officers of his regiment. It was common to Virginia and has been adopted by the British officers who served with him. The duties he performed, though not splendid, were arduous, and were executed with zeal and judgment. The exact discipline he established in his regiment when the temper of Virginia was extremely hostile to discipline does credit to his military character and the gallantry displayed by his troops under him when called into active service manifests the spirit infused into them by their Commander. The difficulties of his situation while unable to cover the frontier from French and Indians, who were spreading death and desolation in every direction, were incalculably great, and no better evidence of his exertions under such distressing circumstances can be given than the unanimous confidence still placed in him by those whom he was unable to protect."

We may add here that soon after his resignation of Command and before he settled down to private life at Mount Vernon, he wedded a widow named Mrs. Custas. She was a rich and accomplished lady, had two children to her husband who died three years previously. The administration of the estates of Mrs. Custas and her children, amounting in value to about £45,000, devolved upon Washington.

CHAPTER VI.

FARMER AND CONGRESSMAN.

AFTER the capture of Du Quesne or Fort Pitt, so named in honour of the great Chatham, Washington, as we have already indicated, retired from the arena of military warfare and for seventeen years lived on his estate at his rural residence on the Potomac river. During those years Providence seemed to be preparing him for mighty achievements. As a farmer and private citizen his education and experience had time to mature, whilst as a public repre-

representative of Fairfax County in Congress at Williamsburgh, to which honour he was elected without his seeking at the end of his military service, his talents for legislation and government were perfected. Hence when the needs of his country demanded the experienced law-giver and statesman, he was not found deficient. It is a question whether the task of leading armies to victory was a more arduous and difficult one than that of steering the ship of State to unity and strength and power and respect among the nations after the treaty of Independence was ratified. For this momentous undertaking Washington would seem to have been unknown to himself in training during the seventeen years spent in apparent retirement. We do not wish to fall into that error of excess attributed by Lord Macaulay to the Rev. Mr. Thackeray in his life of Chatham. "Mr. Thackeray," says the essayist, "is not satisfied with forcing us to confess that Pitt was a great orator, a rigorous Minister, an honourable and high-spirited gentleman. He will have us believe that all virtues and all accomplishments met in his hero. In spite of God, men and calumnies, Pitt must be a poet, a poet capable of producing a heroic poem of the first order. Had he remained in the army he would have been a great general. In fine he was always right, an example of moral excellence, the just man made perfect."

We do not attribute, during those years of peaceful seclusion at Mount Vernon, to Washington any extraordinary feats that might tend to dazzle and bewilder future generations. We find him devoted to his wife and his domestic affairs. We know that he conscientiously discharged the public trust of Burgess of his district. We know that he was never idle, that he had not a minute that he could call his own between public and private cares and his social and recreative occupations. He was a stranger to indolence. Idleness and greatness are incompatible. We attribute to Washington the virtue which is the mark of all great men, namely, that of doing ordinary things extra-

ordinarily well. We will not place him exactly in the category of those pagan heroes, Pericles or Cæsar, whose rise to great fame and power do not bear to be judged by Christian standards. Pericles, the pagan soldier, orator, statesman and sage, though of aristocratic birth, courted not alone the favour of the gods, but also bent the knee to the popular acclaim of a grade that he when in power held in subjection with firmness—the democracy. Cæsar was by no means loyal to Pompey under whom he at first became famous in Gaul. He led against him his victorious arms, dethroned him from leadership and placed himself on the pedestal from which Pompey was thrown down. Nor did the Great Alexander spare the reputation of his illustrious father, Philip, when the shadow of the latter's great name stood in his ambitious course. Napoleon raised himself to power by spurning the nobility and courting the favour of the populace. Nor was he sparing more than Cæsar when a rival stood in his way. With these great men it would seem that the end always justified the means. It was not so with Washington, no matter how hard the ordeal or how great the odds arrayed against him; he never once deviated from the course that justice and right pointed to him. And if we read between the lines, taking his after-life achievements as our text, we can discern how well founded his formative years must have been in all those characteristics that made him renowned as a soldier, statesman and model citizen. When Washington sought rest and peace from public worries he was in much need of time and care to recoup his shattered constitution. We saw how, on more than one occasion, he was, by fever and fatigue, brought to the verge of death. The effects of those years were still pursuing him. As late as 1761 he wrote to a friend: "I have to all appearance been near my last breath. My indisposition increased upon me and I felt in a very low and dangerous state. I once thought the Great King would certainly master my efforts, and that I

must sink in spite of a resolute struggle; but, thank God, I have got the best of the encounter and shall soon be restored I hope to perfect health once more." Washington, now that he was free to follow the bent of his own disposition, gave much of his leisure moments to reading. By this means he acquired a wider range of views of men and of nations. He mixed much, as far as custom and opportunity would permit, in society, both at home and in Williamsburgh and Annanopolis. This helped to draw out the gentlemanly side of his character and to refine and perfect his moral and intellectual faculties. These years were the happiest of his life. His affection for his wife and her son and daughter and his home and the social charms of such pleasing surroundings clung to him ever after, so that when he stood "weary and ill at ease" on the highland camping ground, almost unfriended, the longing desire never left him to soon return, after his work was accomplished, to his lovely mansion and demesne on the Potomac.

In the midst of his cares for his charming wife, the companion of his joys and sorrows for forty years, and his management as legal guardian of the large plantations belonging to his wife and her children, the inheritance they obtained in three equal parts from the will of Daniel Park Custas, her husband, together with his own estates, he found time to devote to local and social interests of a public nature. Nor was he unmindful of his trust as a Congressman in the Virginian Parliament. Each year he was compelled to spend two or three months at Williamsburg, a distinguished member of that distinguished assembly. When for the first time after his military labours he took his seat in Congress, a vote of welcome was awarded him by the Congress for distinguished service on behalf of the colony. Mr. Robinson, the proposer, spoke in eloquent terms and with great feeling, regarding the conspicuous military service he rendered his country. Mr. West speaks

thus of the occasion in his life of Patrick Henry: "As soon as Mr. Washington took his seat the proposer, in obedience to the chair and following the impulse of his own heart, discharged the duty with so great dignity and strength of expression that the young hero, when he rose to reply, was entirely confounded, and so great was his confusion that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered and trembled for a few seconds, when the Speaker relieved him by a stroke of address that would have done honour to Louis the Fourteenth in his proudest and happiest moments. 'Sit down,' Mr. Washington," he said with a conciliatory smile. "Your modesty equals your valour and surpasses the power of any language that I possess." "

During those years as a public representative of the people he rose gradually to much fame in the arena of local politics and soon began to be valued by his fellow-delegates as one of the leaders in the Assembly. He rarely rose to make a speech, but as a wise counsellor and a well-informed deputy he had few equals. When he essayed to address the delegates, which was rarely and only from necessity, his words were well chosen, judicious and to the point. In later years he could address an audience with force, directness and precision, but even at the height of his fame as a statesman he never aimed at or attained to eminence as an orator. In power of imagery he was too deficient, nor was his language copious enough for excellence in the field in which Henry and Lee and Rutledge were supreme. Still we must, in judging an orator, take into consideration the character of the speaker, his appearance, bearing, the quality of his mind, his experience and the nature of the cause on which the orator speaks, Washington judged by his advantages in these respects, was by no means deficient.

Henry, America's most famous orator, said of the Virginian House of Burgesses in his day: "If you look for its greatest orator and most polished speaker, Rutledge, of North

Carolina—and an Irishman as well—is the most eloquent; but if for solid argument and information on all subjects and matured judgment, none on the floor equals Washington.”

He loved country life, a natural love to one reared in the free bracing air and beautiful scenery of a Western plantation. He was fond of farming and studied the subject in theory and practice. The development and management of his estates engaged him much and occupied the time he had to spare amidst his manifold occupations. As a farmer he was most progressive. Farming was the chief industry in the States in those days. Not more than three per cent. of the population lived by trade or commerce or in towns in Washington's time. He early saw the possibilities of these unreclaimed regions with the fresh, new, virgin soil, and he encouraged reclamation and canal and river development. He had in his boyhood days stepped as a surveyor many miles around those lately planted territories. He fought up and down and across the frontiers for hundreds of miles, and his observant eye and far-seeing mind were impressed with the verdant hue and rich soil of the country around and the immense wealth *in posse* that lay ready for development and cultivation. He was looked up to in his locality as a model-farmer, and hence we find him leading in adapting himself to the needs of these colonies. He procured the latest implements and machinery for his plantations, and on learning that a machine could be procured in England which was capable of rooting up trees of considerable diameter, enabling six hands to raise two or three hundred trees in a day, he made himself certain about the capabilities of the engine and at once sent over to England for one without hesitating at the cost.

He early saw the necessity there was in a new country for scientific knowledge in agriculture. Hence he set about studying books on different kinds of soil and different systems of crop rotation. We see him procuring a book on farming written by a Mr. Hall, and he was in communication with

Arthur Young, of world-wide fame in those days, and from him learned much useful information on adaptation of crops to the soil as well as up-to-date information of the newest machinery. He labelled with his own signature all the exports sent by him to England, and among merchants the signature of George Washington was always a sufficient guarantee of genuineness. It may be interesting here to give in some detail what his contemporaries have stated about his personal appearance. He was, it is said, of a bold commanding appearance, over six feet in stature, slender rather than corpulent, his hands were large as became a man of achievements, his forehead was square, connotative of executive qualities; his eyes were calm and could flash with stern resolve in exigencies. They were not remarkable for size which quality points out the man of fluency and the poetic soul. They rather proclaimed the man of deeds. His face was singularly broad. The nose dilated with a prominent ridge which marked him as a man of spirit and resolve. The distance between the eyes and the general carriage of the body gave to him a bold, manly and daring expression. Knowing his general appearance one would like to ask how did he ordinarily dress? Let us consult his diary. Here is how he ordered a suit of clothes at this time from England: "You will send me a suit of wearing apparel for myself and I leave the choice of the cloth to your fancy. I want neither lace nor embroidery, plain clothes with gold or silver buttons. My local tailor has never fitted me properly. I therefore leave the choice of the workmen to you. I enclose a measure, and I merely will add that I am six feet in stature and more slender than otherwise." He was very fond of sporting on the river and in the woods, and as his companions in these pursuits were the aristocrats of Virginia, Lord Fairfax, Bryan Fairfax, and Colonel Fairfax amongst others, all gentlemen and loyalists of the rigid school. Hence we find that he was compelled to keep up to good style, as those companions in the chase

often dined at Mount Vernon. It was the custom with rich Virginians to bring over the latest and best in style from England. Carriages, horses, hounds, and household fixtures, all were of English manufacture and the very finest that their rich plantations could afford. We know that Washington had many horses for hunting of first-class quality. He possessed a splendid carriage drawn on occasions by four well-harnessed and well-groomed carriage horses. One item from his diary will show how expensive and how stylish were his riding equipments. The following is an order on his London agent:

“ 1. Man’s riding saddle, hogskin seat, large plated stirrups and everything complete. Double-reined bridle and Pelham bit plated. 2. A large portmanteau, saddle, bridle and pillion. 3. Checked saddle-cloth, holsters. 4. A riding frock, with double gilt buttons. 5. A riding waistcoat of superfine scarlet cloth and gold lace, with buttons like those of coat. 6. A neat switch whip, silver cap. 7. Black velvet cap for servant.”

Washington at this time had been contemplating the possibility of visiting England, a wish he had early conceived, but the varied life that he led, the happy home that he enjoyed and the changed feeling towards the motherland, which undoubtedly was becoming common among the colonists, made it improbable that he would ever cross the Atlantic. He was not, however, adverse to foreign travels as an educative influence, although he did not much admire those who were too cosmopolitan in their tastes. He rather wished all Americans to know thoroughly their own country, cherish it fondly, and when they left its shores to acquire, by observation and travel, knowledge that would be of advantage to their nation. He moreover held that much knowledge acquired from reading is needful for useful and profitable travel. Everyone is expected, he held, to be able to compare his own laws and customs with the laws and customs of the people among whom he travels, and should

be able to give an account of the government and laws and customs of his own land.

Americans of Washington's epoch were against much foreign travel or foreign education for their people. They set a good example to the generations that came after them in their love of everything American. If they favoured much freedom on democratic lines at home, they just as strongly discountenanced a servile imitation of European manners, and this was of course most evident in Post Revolution times, though of gradual growth from the revolution in feeling engendered by the Stamp Act in 1765. Thomas Jefferson, one of the fathers of the Republic and for many years a resident in Paris, speaks thus of foreign training and its effects on character: "He (the traveller) acquires a fondness for European luxury and dissipation and a contempt for the simplicity of his own country. He is fascinated with the privileges of the European aristocrats and sees with abhorrence the lovely equality which the poor enjoy with the rich in his own country. He forms friendships which won't be useful to him, and loses friendships in his own country which are more faithful and permanent. He is led into female intrigue, destructive of his happiness. He retains a hankering in after life after those places and scenes of his first sinful pleasure. He returns to his own country a foreigner in language, habits of life, and consequently unqualified to act a leading part by word or pen in his own free country. It appears to me then that an American coming to Europe for education loses in knowledge, in his morals, in his health, habits and happiness." "Cast," he says, "your eyes over America and you will find that the most learned, most eloquent, and best beloved by their countrymen, and best trusted are those trained and educated at home." A proof of the above strong opinion and apparent digression is to be found in the subject of our biography.

Not alone was Washington's active mind busy about agri-

cultural pursuits, but his time and talents were freely made use of by many of his colonial friends and acquaintances. It was also during these years that he stole an occasional hour between times to enrich his mind on general history and science. His extant letters show how numerous were his correspondents and how varied were the subjects about which he was occupied. We will allow the following extract from a letter to a neighbour, asking him to become guardian to his child, speak for itself:

“I solemnly declare to you that for a year or two past there has scarce been a moment that I could call my own. What with my own business, my present ward’s, my mother’s, which is wholly in my hands; Colonel Colville’s, Mrs. Savage’s, Colonel Fairfax’s, Colonel Mercer’s, who was killed in Colonial war, and the little assistance I have undertaken to give to the management of my brother Augustine’s concerns, together with the part I take in public affairs, I have been kept constantly engaged in letter writing, settling accounts and negotiating one piece of business or another, by which means I have really been deprived of every kind of enjoyment, and had almost fully resolved to engage in no fresh matter till I had entirely wound up the old.”

Washington, as we saw, entered Congress in 1758, and continued to represent his native county up till the war in 1775. During these years his mind was much occupied in a conscientious examination of the great controversies that agitated the public and ultimately led to the rupture of the colonies from the British Empire. His loyalty to the Fatherland was great as long as loyalty was not treason to America. At first he could not believe that the friction between the Governors and the Assemblies and the Assemblies and Parliament were more than passing, and he thought a remedy would soon be found for these divergencies of opinions and interests. He sided with the colonies from the first in the stand they were making against taxation, and he was among the first to advocate a boycott of the Stamps

and of every luxury and article shipped from England that the colonies could do without. His sentiments are well expressed at this time in the following extract from a letter to Bryan Fairfax: "I am convinced that no man in the colony wishes its prosperity better, would go greater lengths to serve it, or is at the same time a better subject of the Crown."

He was by temperament and early associations, as well as by interest, of a conservative turn of mind; he was no rash adventurer like Gates or Lee or Arnold. Had self-interest been his ruling passion, he would naturally have desired to shun a civil rupture with so mighty a power as England. Most of the big planters, his associates, wavered at the critical period when it was found necessary to declare themselves. Was it not under English sway that his proud forefathers fought and became famed? Was it not side by side with the veterans of the British army that he had gained renown? Washington, however, loved liberty and his innate sense of justice and fair play soon inclined his calm judicious mind to the cause of his countrymen. In him patriotism rose above self-seeking and class prejudice. He diagnosed it to be essential that British tyranny and aggression should be resisted if his country was not to be crushed and his fellow-colonists made slaves. Hence he soon became prominent among his fellow-representatives in Congress as a fierce opponent of British domination in America.

In 1774 we find him selected along with five delegates at Williamsburgh to proceed to Philadelphia to meet delegates from the different States, called together to devise ways and means to further resistance to English encroachments on their chartered rights and their constitutions.

After his return to Virginia he became an active agent in forming companies and drilling corps and equipping the volunteers for active service. His correspondence at this

time shows the frame of his mind in the crisis that was approaching. "At a time when our lordly masters in Great Britain will be satisfied with nothing less than depriving America of her freedom, it seems highly necessary that something should be done to maintain the liberty which we have derived from our ancestors."

But the manner of doing it, to answer the purpose effectually, is the point in question. Again, he writes: "No man should scruple to use arms in defence of liberty is clearly my opinion. Yet arms should be the *dernier ressort*." Again, "Addresses to Parliament have been shown to be ineffectual. How far we may succeed as the Northern colonies are leading the way in starving their trade remains to be seen. In my opinion the scheme is a good one if all the colonies adopt it, *i.e.*, the non-importation scheme. That there will be a difficulty attending a wholesale boycott (?) of British goods is evident. The clashing of interests and the opposition of selfish, designing men will impede its progress. The people should be instructed after a certain period not to buy any goods out of the stores of importers, nor import or purchase any themselves. Those who refuse to co-operate in this anti-importation scheme should be stigmatized and made the subject of public reproach." We may here conveniently record some of the restrictions by which the colonies were indirectly taxed for the benefit of English merchants.

It was an acknowledged custom among nations at this period in history that colonial possessions should repay the mother country for protection by buying and selling exclusively with the mother country. And laws were framed by the parent State to restrict the colonists in commerce except on fixed lines. As early as 1657 England passed the famous Navigation Laws and Acts of Trade, and these laws remained in force as long as the colonies remained dependents on her.

The following are some of the provisions:

“ 1. All trade between the colonies should be carried on in vessels built in England or in the colonies.

“ 2. The colonies should not export tobacco, sugar, iron, timber to any nation but England or some English colony.

“ 3. All European goods should be bought in England and shipped in English-made vessels.

“ 4. The colonies should not manufacture any article made in England.”

The result of these drastic laws on America were very severe. Their hitherto thriving trade with the Dutch merchant men ceased. Goods imported were sold at the arbitrary prices demanded by English merchants who had a monopoly. The shipbuilding trade in America was practically destroyed. The lumber and fish trades were destroyed owing to the prohibition to allow the colonists to trade with foreign nations. These industries were most remunerative in a country where every colony bordered on the sea and possessed thousands of fishing smacks, and where each colony abounded in timber, which was necessarily constantly being cleared off the soil to admit expansion in colonizing. France hitherto bought up all the lumber and fish in exchange for sugar and molasses.

Washington was of opinion that in the crisis now arisen opposition might at first be expected from those merchants who lived by trading and by some of the large planters who were wealthy and had had a fondness for imported luxuries. But such was the loyalty of the colonists that most of the States unanimously co-operated with their leaders and refused to use English wares, and thus indirectly an impetus was given to home industries which proved a benefit to the entire colonies.

When it was fast becoming evident to all thinking minds that nothing short of a demand for entire submission to arbitrary legislation was the English ultimatum to the colonists, Washington saw no other alternative possible than

forcible resistance if Americans were not to become slaves. He thus expounds his views in a letter to his friend, Bryan Fairfax, dated 24th August, 1774:

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I presume you have read all the political news in the gazettes at this time. Hence I may not hope to enlighten you on the situation so critical for our colonies. I could only in general add that an innate spirit of freedom first told me that the measures which the administration have for some time been pursuing are opposed to every principle of natural justice, whilst much abler men than I am have fully convinced me that they are not only repugnant to natural right, but subversive of the laws and constitution of Great Britain itself, in establishing which some of the best blood in the Kingdom has been spilt. Satisfied then that the Acts of the British Parliament are no longer governed by the principles of justice, that they are trampling upon the valuable right of America, confirmed to them by charter and by the constitution they themselves boast of, and convinced beyond the smallest doubt that these measures are the result of deliberation and attempted to be carried into execution by the hand of power, is it a time to trifle or risk our cause upon petitions which with difficulty obtain access and afterwards are thrown aside with the utmost contempt? For my part I shall not undertake to say where the line between Great Britain and the colonies should be drawn and our rights clearly ascertained. I could wish I own that the dispute had been left to posterity to determine, but the crisis has arrived when we must assert our rights or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us.”

At this time there were some who thought that England by her nominal tax of threepence per pound on tea was not in earnest in asserting her right to direct taxation, that she was only waiting for time to withdraw her odious Acts against which the colonies were protesting. The King was

obstinate and did not like the idea of such resistance to his royal wishes, as expressed by his Minister, Lord North, but they said that Parliament was only waiting a favourable opportunity to allay the troubled waters in America. Washington was of a different opinion, as was Patrick Henry and the two Adams, in fact Massachusetts was strong for independence from English control from the first. "I am not one of those," said Washington, "who think that anything less than absolute submission will satisfy England. She has acted with a regular systematic plan to enforce these Acts, and nothing but unanimity and firmness in the colonies can prevent their execution."

Washington, as we can see from his correspondence at this time, felt keenly the situation in which his country was placed by the motherland and he left no doubt on the minds of his friends and fellow-countrymen about the part he was prepared to take in defence of liberty. He was actively engaged at this time discussing with his fellow-delegates in Williamsburgh and in Philadelphia in general Congress the best means to pursue in the coming troubles. He was instrumental in drafting the non-importation scheme adopted by the colonies. He was strongly concerned in the active agency of the Committees of Correspondence and their utility as means for ventilating their grievances, informing the States of the laws and enactments passed against their rights and charters and liberties by the English Parliament and ensuring that all the States might act in unison, making the cause of one the cause of all. He co-operated in the activity in his own colony in raising and drilling militia, and he promised not alone to inspect the companies, but to lead them in case resistance by force to English aggression became necessary.

Whilst the country was in a ferment over the Tea Tax, the Boston Port Bill, the arbitrary dismissal of the State Legislatures by the Hutchisons and Dunmores and the other loyal Governors, Washington had private troubles that

divided his time and attention for a while. His young ward, Miss Custas, took ill with consumption and at the age of seventeen died at Mount Vernon. The affection of the foster-father for his little ward was well shown on this occasion. To see this strong, courageous and seemingly stoical man weeping at the dying girl's bedside, praying on bended knees that life might be spared her, gives us another glimpse into the character of our hero. He had a kind, gentle and affectionate heart. He loved intensely. He pitied others in distress and ever acted with kindness and consideration for the needs and wants and sorrows of others.

At this time young Master Custas became engaged and was married at the early age of 22 years. Mrs. Washington, in her great grief, required the support of her loving husband and this she received with all the ardent affection that her noble spouse could bestow.

Since all America by the union of the colonies in convention at Philadelphia was, as Patrick Henry said, thrown into one mass to stand or fall together, no loyal friend of its cause could stand with arms folded. "Where," says Henry, "are your landmarks—your boundaries of colonies? They are all thrown down. The distinction between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian but an American."

The tug-of-war was now approaching. An English General had already been appointed military dictator in Boston, with an army of 5,000 under his immediate command, with a reserve of 10,000 under other generals scattered over the colonies. The old legislatures had been dissolved and the citizens over most of the colonies had established new assemblies to transact their affairs independent of the Royal representatives.

The situation had now arrived which drew forth from Washington these words: "Unhappy it is to reflect that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast, and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are

either to be drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative, but can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice? "

It had been the intention of the English Ministry to overawe and intimidate the Bostonians and the colonists generally, and thus incite them to rash action in word and deed. Their desire was to spur them on "to haughty and insolent resolve." General Gage, who was Commander-in-Chief, never dreamt that there was such a volume of public opinion and public resolve behind the fifty-one delegates who met in Philadelphia. He thought that their "solemn league and covenant" formed to resist English encroachments on their rights was ill-conceived, ill-advised, and a blustering high-sounding threat that was never meant seriously to be acted on. He did not know that there were giants among those former colonials, men of ability and eloquence, men who were acting for three millions of their fellow-citizens, men who knew what they wanted and had resolved on how their liberties might be preserved. Gage was by no means suited for the task assigned him by his Royal master and his patron, Lord North. He had not tact or diplomacy to allay the ferment of public discontent in America. He was rash and inconsiderate in his conduct of affairs. He had a poor opinion of his enemy and an exaggerated opinion of himself and his well-equipped army. He was not without some good points to recommend him in the eyes of the Americans. He fought with bravery with Braddock and was wounded in the disaster. He married an American wife of good connection in New Jersey, and he was in private life sociable and good-natured. He commanded the American forces after Amherst resigned and had been for a time Governor of Montreal when that city was captured and Canada made an English colony. Still Gage was ill-suited for bringing back the colonies to allegiance to England, as the sequel will reveal. When General Gage blockaded Boston Port and proclaimed martial

law in Massachussets, the Americans as a body were not anxious for separation from England, and when the first Convention in August, 1774, met in Philadelphia, with few dissentients, the desire of the delegates was for reconciliation, and had the Reconciliation Bill introduced by Chatham found acceptance with the Ministry there would have been an end to extreme measures on the part of the motherland and her American colonies. However, we must not conclude that there was any craven fear or cringing, although the wording of the many petitions to the throne was respectful and dutiful. Let us quote the instruction that the delegates from Virginia received on setting out from their seat of government to the National Congress. It was bold, firm, and logical :

“ His Majesty,” it ran, “ has expressedly made the civil authority in our midst subject to the military. But can His Majesty put down all law under his heel? Can he erect a power superior to that which erected himself? He has done it indeed by force; but let him remember that force cannot give right.

“ Let those flatter who fear—it is not an American art. Know ye that kings are the servants and not the proprietors of the people. Open your breast, Sire, to liberal and expanded thought. Let not the name of George III. be a blot on the page of history. You are surrounded by British counsellors, but remember they are parties. You have no Minister for American affairs, because you have none taken from among us, nor amenable to the laws on which they are to give you advice. It behoves you therefore to think and act for yourself and your people. The great principles of right and wrong are legible to every reader, to pursue them requires not the aid of many counsellors. *The whole art of government consists in the art of being honest.* Only aim to do your duty and mankind will give you credit when you fail. No longer persevere in sacrificing the rights of one part of the empire to the inordinate desires of another,

but deal out to all equal and impartial right. Let no Act be passed by any one legislature which may infringe on the rights and liberties of another.

“This, Sire, is the advice of your American Council, on the observance of which may depend your felicity and future fame and the preservation of that harmony which alone can continue, both to Great Britain and America, the reciprocal advantages of their commerce. It is neither our wish nor our interest to separate from you. We are willing to sacrifice what reason may demand to restore peace, but let your conditions be just.”

CHAPTER VII.

WASHINGTON CHOSEN COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

THE cause of Boston soon became the cause of the thirteen States of North America. It was from the Virginian Legislature the watchword came that united all the colonies, that “when tyranny oppressed one colony their vindication should be taken up by all.” It was to repel the English from Boston that the Convention met for the second time in the summer of 1775, to find ways and means to support not alone with sympathy and resolutions, but by men and money, the rude but brave extempore army that was besieging Gage in Boston after they had tried issue with that General at Concord and Bunker’s Hill.

Patrick Henry, in one of his bursts of eloquence at Richmond, just a month before the assembling of Congress in May, at Philadelphia, concluded an address which echoed over the States: “We must fight. I repeat it, sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of Hosts is all that is left us!” Washington was not less explicit nor less vehement in giving expression to what he considered the duty of all liberty-loving Americans. “A brother’s

sword," says he, "has been sheathed in a brother's breast. Can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?"

No doubt many there were over the States who thought and acted differently. They were the Tories or Loyalists—they called those who favoured war the rebels—the garrison party who were hangers-on to the Governors, the officials of the Governors, the self-seekers, and many of the very wealthy as well as the pusillanimous and timorous who were watching to see in what direction success would lie. There were those who said: "We have prospered splendidly under the British flag, why disturb the calm and peace of our hitherto happy and contented colonies by war?" and who wound up their selfish reasoning as did the ale-house keeper, standing in his own door, when the hungry and crippled army of Washington was passing in retreat from New York across the Jerseys, "Leave us in peace our day, let our children," he said, as he hugged his infant child in his arms, "win their own independence." There was a wealthy class like this selfish father in all the States, but the great mass of the people were burning for freedom, and the voices of Patrick Henry, of George Washington and John Adams and the other patriots over the Union sounded the true note at Congress which reached the hearts of the people.

John Adams, writing to his wife from this Convention, said: "The business we have on hands is the greatest and most important that can be entrusted to any body of men. Fifty or sixty men like us have a constitution to form for a great empire and at the same time a great army to raise and train and equip, to guard a country fifteen hundred miles in extent. We have got to fit out a navy, regulate trade and negotiate with numerous tribes of Indians."

One of the first and most important considerations that came before the assembly was the appointment of a Commander-in-Chief: as all patriotic delegates were of opinion that the only course open for the colonies was to unsheath the sword—to repel force by force. The man to be raised

to this high and honourable position and arduous duty should be no ordinary mortal, for in his hands the destiny of the country would in great part rest. He must be one that the soldiers will follow; hence he must know how to command. He must teach obedience and command respect by the obedience and respect he himself shows to the orders of Congress. A true leader creates obedience in his troops just as a successful horseman makes his horse gentle and tractable. It is essential then for a Commander to inspire his men with respect for his authority.

As the cause of American liberty was involved in the issue, a Commander that should, by his character and persuasive power, bend all the forces to his will became a necessity.

The debate over, the selection engaged the anxious thought of the entire Congress. It was well understood by the members how local jealousy and State rivalry would enter largely into such a matter, but those men in their deliberations were above local considerations; they were truly patriotic men, honestly bent on acting rightly and wisely by the colonies as a whole in the crisis upon them. Their object was to select a man who would in his person and character unite all the qualifications necessary for a great General, a man who should take under him all the forces, no matter from what State drafted, officers and rank and file and from them mould and build up a formidable Continental Army. The man selected must be one in whom the Congress, the States, and the army should have implicit confidence.

People situated as the Americans were in those days, isolated and scattered over a vast continent, divided into States and sub-divided into counties and parishes, separated by rivers and woods and mountains, each little local body actuated by ideas of independence, sectional and religious divisions and other circumstances that lead to pride and self-importance. Under such adverse conditions a complete

stranger would have a task to undertake that required much tact, diplomacy and firmness. Each State had military heroes of its own choice, and it would be difficult to convince any of them that its choice of a military leader might not suit the army and nation as a whole.

John Adams, a Massachusetts lawyer, patriot and statesman, saw with a clearer vision than most of his confrères in Convention how critical was the situation and how important it was to nominate a man able to unite all, both North and South, in a solid phalanx in defence of liberty. He did not however in words name the Commander-in-Chief, but he mentioned the chief qualifications for the position, and when he had summarized the qualities of an ideal General, he added: "We have not to go outside our own body for such a man. We have him on this floor in this House. Among other things," he said, "it was important that he should be eminent in rank, dignity, and intelligence, courage and disinterestedness, ripe in experience, and well adapted to govern, discipline, and lead men. Such a one," says he "is among ourselves and you have all heard him in Council and gained knowledge by his ripe experience and wisdom and patriotism in our cause." When Adams had spoken all eyes were at once turned towards Washington, and we are told that the modesty of Washington was such that he could not stand the gaze of the entire Assembly, and at this stage of the proceedings he, the future liberator of his country and the hero of the Congress, quietly withdrew from the meeting. He was then aware, although his name had not yet been mentioned, that it was he to whom all turned to lead them to victory in the great Revolution on which they were entering. To his wife at this time he wrote from Convention that he feared the appointment would be offered him.

If John Adams had done nothing more for his country's liberties than suggest that Washington should be Commander-in-Chief, he would justly deserve the everlasting

gratitude of his countrymen. But this was neither the beginning nor the end of his labours for his country. He has been styled the Colossus of the war. He was first in every debate; in the initial stages of the controversy; he was a power in consolidating public opinion in Congress, on the platform and by his pen as well as by diplomacy; he took a leading part in preparing public opinion in the colonies for an armed resistance to British oppression. His powers of mind, says Upham, "were of gigantic proportions, his temperament was ardent and his intrepidity of spirit unsurpassed. He foresaw with a prophetic sagacity earlier than any other man, with perhaps the exception of his fellow-Bostonian and namesake, Samuel Adams, the necessity of putting the controversy to the issue of the bayonet; and with a clear prescience, drawn from the profoundest statesmanship and a most comprehensive political knowledge, through all the gloom of a sanguinary and exhausting civil war, he beheld the future glory of his country ascending to the summit of national power and diffusing the blessings of liberty and peace over the continent and the world. With an eloquence that swept the people before it and startled senators to their feet, he persevered in his work and its accomplishment when the whole nation was in the throes of a deadly conflict, and when his country was bleeding to death and in sore straits for money and foreign alliance he, with Franklin and John Jay, was mainly instrumental in gaining to the cause both money and military equipments, so that the war might move by the two main nerves, as the poet expresses it, of 'iron and gold' to a triumphant end. After the war he was a tower of strength in aiding the moulding of the constitution, and in the civil, as in the military, campaign he was the constant ally and faithful friend of Washington, whom he immediately succeeded as President, and twenty years later his mantle fell on a not unworthy son who acted as diplomat

at foreign courts, as member of the Cabinet and finally as President of the Republic."

On the 15th June Congress unanimously elected Washington Commander-in-Chief, and on the day following the President, Mr. Hancock, officially notified him of the fact. On his appointment Washington said: "Mr. President—Though I am truly sensible of the high honour done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as Congress desires it, I will enter upon the momentous duty and exert every power I possess in their service and for the support of the glorious cause. But I beg it to be remembered that I do not think myself equal to the command I am honoured with, and I moreover add that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept this arduous employment at the expense of my domestic happiness I do not wish to make any profit from it, I will keep an account of my expenses. Those I doubt not they will discharge. That is all I desire."

He was then handed his commission duly signed by John Hancock, President, and witnessed by Charles Thompson, Secretary, a native of County Derry. The colonies represented in this Congressional appointment were: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New Castle, Kent and Sussex or Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina. Georgia, alone, owing to action of its Governor, was not represented at this Convention.

In this Commission which he adhered to until it was at a later date modified and his powers enlarged, we see he was vested with powers to discipline and command the forces voluntarily to be raised in defence of American liberty and all soldiers and officers were strictly enjoined to loyally support and obey him. He was empowered moreover to see

that strict discipline be enforced and that his soldiers be provided with all convenient necessities.

He was moreover to observe punctually the directions given him from time to time by Congress, and to hand in his commission when, if at any time, Congress might revoke it.

It was with unfeigned regret that Washington undertook the onerous duties of Commander of the American Army. His letter to his wife at this juncture, which we give below, as well as a farewell address to the several Independent Companies in Virginia, with which he was connected, demonstrated this.

“ I have in this address,” he says in his modesty, “ launched out into a wide and extensive field too boundless for my abilities and very far beyond my experience.” He adds: “ The partiality of Congress, together with political motives, rendered objections unavailing.”

That he parted from his beloved wife and happy home and retirement amidst rural delights and a rich fortune, with regret, his farewell letter to Mrs. Washington on June 17th will show. He wrote :

“ It has been determined in Congress that the whole army raised for the defence of the American cause shall be put under my care; and that it is necessary for me to proceed immediately to Boston to take up my command.

“ You may believe me, my dearest Patsy, when I assure you in the most solemn manner that I have used every endeavour in my power to avoid the appointment, not only from my own unwillingness to part from you, but from a consciousness of my being unequal to the trust. I know I would enjoy more happiness in one month with you and family at home than I ever expect in the army were my stay seven times seven years. But as destiny has so ordained I hope my being thrown upon the service is designed to answer some good purpose. You might have observed from the tenor of my letters that it was utterly out of my power to

refuse the appointment without exposing my character to such censure as would have reflected dishonour upon myself and given pain to my friends.

“ I shall place my confidence in Providence to preserve me as hitherto. My chief unhappiness shall be for you at home alone.

“ I have made a settlement of my temporal affairs now when in sound mind and body, and I have ordered a draft of my will to be sent you. I hope the provision I have made for you will in case of my death be agreeable to you.

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

Congress at the same time, when it placed Washington in supreme command of the army, adopted other resolutions and made some subordinate appointments. The members of Congress solemnly pledged themselves to support the Commander and the cause on which they were embarked with their lives and fortunes. It was a bold resolve, and to use the insulting expression of their adversaries, they entered upon the contest “ with halters around their necks.” Death and confiscation of their property in case of failure would be the result of their patriotic resolve. It was agreed in Congress that the army now amounting to 16,000 militia men around Boston, camped at Cambridge should be adopted, and that the beginning of a permanent force from this nucleus, augmented from the States to 20,000, should be equipped and paid and formed into military companies under the direction of the Commander and his subordinate officers. These rude militia men under their local officers had proved their patriotic zeal in the battles of Lexington and Bunker’s Hill prior to the arrival of Washington, but they had much to learn in discipline and in all that goes to make an efficient army.

Congress named Putnam and Ward, two New England leaders, as Majors-General, and to these General Lee, English born, was added. This soldier of fortune was the selection of Washington himself, with the approbation of Con-

gress. Little need be noted here as regards Putnam and Ward. They were tried and trusted friends of the cause, brave and fearless soldiers beloved by the soldiers of their respective States, men who had earned fame in the border wars, and had raised themselves to their present eminence by their courage and patriotism. Of the forces prior to the General's arrival at Cambridge, Ward was Commander-in-Chief. Lee had been an officer in the British army and had gained distinction in the European wars. He was of a roving nature and prior to his arrival in America in 1773 we find him travelling through Northern Europe, and being a man of many parts, versatile as a writer, well-informed, and brave as a soldier, mixing in the highest circles, even on friendly and on intimate terms with kings and princes.

So famed had he become as a *litterateur* and so well-informed in military and State affairs that by some he was considered the author of the "Letters of Junius." Lack of vanity was not one of his weak points, for we are told he was himself the originator of the story. But as he was in Europe during most of the time these marvellous letters were appearing, enjoying the smiles of royalty, Lee could not be the author. The wife of John Adams graphically describes him at this time: "General Lee," she says, "looks like a careless, hardy veteran, and by his appearance brought to my mind his namesake Charles XII. of Sweden. The elegance of his pen far exceeds that of his person."

The Commander-in-Chief had a predilection for Lee. When it became evident that war would eventually be the end of the trouble between England and her American colonies, Generals Lee and Gates visited Washington at Mount Vernon, and during their sojourn there impressed him with their zeal in the cause of the Americans. From them he learned much in military affairs, and from their theoretic and practical knowledge gained from books and campaigns and camp life he expected great assistance in the arduous duties to which he was called. Hence he got

both these Generals commissioned to aid and advise him in the war. Although their assistance in the initial stages of organizing and disciplining may have been valuable, yet, as after events will show, both deceived his confidence. Lee was certainly nothing more than a clever military adventurer, a disloyal General to his chief, and as he was a traitor to Britain, so too he proved a traitor to the American cause, though not so base as Benedict Arnold. Gates, who also gained by his address and knowledge in the science of war on Washington's esteem, was appointed to the rank of Brigadier-General. He became in 1777 the hero of Saratoga, and in '79 the disgraced and defeated commander in Virginia.

A number of Generals besides these two were nominated by Congress to serve under Washington. Richard Montgomery, who gained laurels under Wolfe at the capture of Quebec, and who now, an American subject, espoused the cause of liberty, was appointed General, together with Henry Knox, Sullivan, and Schuyler. Greene also was named General at this time, and than he no soldier stood higher in the estimation of the Commander, and none contributed more to the success of the Revolution.

There were eight Brigadiers-General appointed besides the four Majors-General and Commander-in-Chief. A better selection of Majors might have easily been made, but as events proceeded more freedom in selection of officers was allowed the Commander. Congress considered that the war storm would soon abate and peace be restored. Little did the delegates at Philadelphia know of the stubborn temperament of George III.

After a few days necessary delay prior to departure from Philadelphia, Washington, accompanied by Schuyler and Lee, set out for Boston. A most enthusiastic reception was accorded him along the way. At New York an address from the citizens was presented. Whilst passing through this city his hopes were raised by hearing of the bravery of the

American forces at Bunker's Hill. On the 2nd of July he entered Cambridge. The next day he formally assumed command of the forces. He was now in the prime of manhood, having reached the age of forty-three. As he rode out in front of the regiments, under the old elm tree still standing near to Andrew Carnegie's house, the then headquarters of the General, he presented a noble and pleasing appearance, and at once won the confidence of the soldiers. He was a superior horseman. He had the appearance on horseback of a hero, a born soldier and a gentleman. As he rode in front of the ranks on his prancing Arab charger, with the sword glittering in the bright sunshine, all eyes were riveted with delight upon their new Commander, and great was the chorus of approbation that greeted him. "No man," says Bancroft, "had a finer appearance or greater dignity of presence than he. He was tall, graceful, handsome, athletic and muscular. His calm, resolute and commanding aspect filled the hearts of the soldiers with confidence."

He was presented with an address of welcome by the Massachusetts Bay Congress, in which he was cordially greeted and congratulated on his safe arrival amongst them. "Whilst we applaud," says the Congress, "that attention to public duty manifested in your appointment, we equally admire that disinterested virtue and patriotism which called you forth from domestic life to hazard your life and endure the fatigues of war in defence of the rights of mankind and the good of your country. We wish you may have found such regularity and discipline already established in the army as may be agreeable to your expectations. Most of those in service in the army are novices to arms, many of them were never away from home hitherto. Hence discipline and habits of obedience and cleanliness may be deficient in many of them. We can assure your Excellency that Congress will at all times be prepared to aid you, removing defects, and looking to the comforts of your army.

May the blessing of Almighty God rest on you, that your head may be covered in the day of battle, and that you may long be continued in health and happiness a blessing to mankind."

Washington kindly thanked Congress for their warm congratulations, which would be gratefully remembered by him, and refused to admit that he was doing more than a patriotic American should do, in coming to assist their tortured province. He adds: "My highest ambition is to be able to vindicate your rights and to aid in restoring again this devoted province to peace, liberty and safety."

When Washington arrived in Cambridge after, as he wrote to Congress in Philadelphia, "a journey attended with a good deal of fatigue and retarded by necessary attentions to the successive civilities which accompanied me in my whole route," he at his earliest convenience visited the different posts occupied by his forces. He found that his army was drawn around Boston and the British troops at a safe distance in the form of a semicircle, that the line of defences to be guarded by him extended almost twelve miles from Mystic river on the North to near Donchester on the South, and that the central point and main strength of his army was at Cambridge. To defend this long line he had about twelve thousand men fit for military service; there were some few thousands added to this number who were useless for warfare, boys, invalids and hangers-on, who were camped with the heterogeneous multitude that flocked to the call to arms. It was decided by a council of war that it would not be judicious to contract the outposts for the present, as by so doing the inexperienced recruits might be discouraged, although the risk was great to have their companies in positions so scattered. Washington was careful in the initial stage of his command to reconnoitre the position and strength of the British forces and to keep himself in touch with their movements, both by couriers and spies and by means of the prisoners who from time to time

fell into the hands of his soldiers, always on the alert for any foraging parties from the enemy's camp. He learned that Gage had 11,000 men under his command, the principal part of whom were camped on Bunker's Hill, under General Howe, brother to Lord Howe, who fell fighting so bravely in New York State in the Colonial war. The Howes were favourites with the Americans from fond reminiscences of their liberal ideas and generous actions whilst fighting side by side with the colonials in the fifties. The Howes were Whigs of the Burke school and at heart disagreed with North's policy; but as soldiers and loyal Englishmen they both, Admiral and General Howe, found themselves at the command of their sovereign arrayed against the Americans in a cause they detested. Under Gage as Generals were Burgoyne and Clinton high up in command around Boston; Burgoyne was politically opposed to the war, and in those days most of the chief officers in the English army were keen politicians and many of them had seats in Parliament. The King selected the officers and none were bold enough to say no to the will of George. Royal favour made or unmade statesmen and generals, in the early years of this monarch's reign. The army was the stepping stone to fame and Burgoyne was ambitious of fame. Unfortunately for his reputation he lost an army two years later, and just as the degraded Generals in South Africa in our time had to bear the odium and shame of the bungling War Minister and incompetent Ministry at home, so too had the American Generals one and all to suffer loss of royal favour and the blame for mismanagement at Westminster. Clinton was another General under Gage, who figured largely from first to last on the British side in the Revolution. He was brave and by no means incompetent. He was politically a partisan of the war party in England. His American record is not noted for generosity towards his enemy. It was he that finally held the position of Commander-in-Chief in succession to Gage and Howe, when the



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL, JUNE 17, 1776.

British troops sailed home from New York to England at the end of the war in 1782.

In the camp of Gage fuel was scarce, and there was no likelihood of their sallying forth into the open country, where they knew the people were opposed to them and where food and fuel and forage would be difficult to procure. But although Washington had no fear of a sudden sally into the open country owing to these difficulties, yet the affairs of his own army gave him much cause for anxiety. He had twice as large an army as Gage numerically considered; he had plenty of food and fuel, but there were other difficulties which militated against efficiency and demanded attention.

The soldiers were in great part without arms. For guns they had nothing but a few fowling pieces, cartridges were scarce, and the supply of powder and bullets would scarcely have supplied nine rounds for the entire army. There were no bayonets, no artillery, except a few insignificant pieces that might be useful at short range. Boots and under-clothing were scarce. For tents there was a varied and often primitive attempt at camp-fitting. A Rev. William Emerson, chaplain to the forces, a relation of Emerson, the essayist, thus describes the primitive army of the Revolution at Cambridge: "It is," he says, "very diverting to walk among the camps. They are as different in their forms as their owners are in their dress; and every tent is a portraiture of the temper and taste of the persons who encamp in it. Some are made of boards and some are made of sail-cloth; some are partly of one and partly of the other. Again some are made of stone and turf, brick and bush; some are thrown up in a hurry; others curiously wrought with wreaths and withes."

Camp life was novel to most of the men under canvas at Cambridge. They came from the New England States at the summons to arms which the church-bell and criers like Paul Revere, gave on the morning of the battle at Lexington. The local leaders mustered them and marched

them off from their farms and plantations to fight for liberty and to defend their countrymen around Boston. This army, thus mustered, longed for an opportunity to face the enemy, but the regulars were too wary to be drawn out of safe fortifications which they were daily making stronger and more secure.

Washington saw the many difficulties with which he had to contend. He saw that those untrained and untried militia were partial towards their local leaders and jealous that any outside officer should be placed over them. Those who distinguished themselves in the colonial wars were in their eyes heroes, and the officers as well as men among the provincials could ill entertain the idea of having strangers placed by Congress to command them. In some instances the officers, rather than serve under outsiders, resigned their commissions and returned home. This conduct on the part of local leaders, had it been general, would have been ruinous among the rank and file. However the men of most influence with these raw recruits seconded the exertions of Congress and the Generals, Putnam and Ward and Greene, local leaders of renown, vied with each other in patriotic action, and the army chaplains infused into those God-fearing Jonathans and Isaacs and Benjamins a holy resolve that their cause was just and that they belonged to the army of the Lord of Hosts, fighting for civil and religious liberty; and among the civil powers none was more powerful in support of the cause and Commander than Governor Jonathan Trumbull, of Connecticut, the only Governor of the thirteen States who espoused his country's cause; his patriotism, zeal and devotion to the Revolution were sanctified by religious enthusiasm, as the following address to Washington at this time discloses. He says: "The Supreme Director of all events hath caused a wonderful union of hearts and counsels to subsist among us. You have been appointed by Congress to your high command; be ye therefore strong and courageous. Let the God of the armies of Israel

shower down the blessing of his Divine providence on you; give you wisdom and fortitude, cover your head in the day of battle and hour of danger, add success, convince your enemies of their mistaken measures, and that all their attempts to deprive these colonies of their inestimable constitutional rights and liberties are injurious and vain."

Another defect was noted by Washington in his round of inspection accompanied by General Lee, viz., the short enlistment system by which, no matter how urgent was the need for longer service, the men could go home at the end of the six or twelve months for which they were enlisted. With this defect, he, as was his duty, early acquainted Congress, but in the succeeding stages of the war, owing to this system of depending on militia on temporary service, instead of having a standing army like the British veterans, he often found himself almost minus an army, just as Congress when it adopted the patriot army at Boston was minus an exchequer to equip a permanent force.

From Cambridge he had to complain about the delays arising from appealing for powers and aids through the several State governments. He recommended the appointment of a Commissary General to receive army supplies and a paymaster, quartermaster and such other general staff officers as the exigencies of a regular military establishment required. Of course it was imperative that the Generals and their subordinates should be placed over their commands at once. After he had so far reconstructed and organized the army he set about with zeal to train and discipline it. At this time he wrote Congress, with which he was in constant communication, that he observed with pleasure that there was material for a good army of strong, active and courageous and patriotic men.

There was a spirit that moved this embryo army and which under the skilful leadership of Washington acted as a lever towards success from first to last in the Revolution. There was the trustful dependence on the Providence of

God which actuated most of the leaders and most of the rank and file. With them it was nothing whether they were many or few, for God has so ordered things, said they, in the affairs of the world as to encourage the use of means and yet so as to keep men in continual dependence upon Him for the efficiency and success of them. Hence they did not exult overmuch at victory since the cause of the success of their arms was always attributed to God. In defeat this spirit taught them to be hopeful, and if at times the Lord of Hosts seemed to abandon His chosen people it was on account of their crimes, but they were trustful that Heaven would not desert His people fighting in the cause of justice. It was this spirit that animated those same sons of Liberty, the bone and sinew and salt of Washington's army, and never failed that faithful band of patriots who fought at Lexington, Bunker's Hill, Trenton and Yorktown, and who endured without a murmur the harassing march across the Jerseys and the trying winter at Valley Forge. How different was the spirit that animated those men from the sentiments in derision at their fasts and prayers attributed to that soldier of fortune, General Charles Lee, "Heaven," said he, "was ever found favourable to strong battalions."

These were the men of whom it was truly said that they were prepared to fight for their convictions and that if they in Puritan fashion held with a dour, grim resolve these principles, they with the same determination shouldered their rifles to fight for these principles. They did not belong to a class—not few—who were in the vanguard of the Revolution, powerful in words and weak in deeds, sluggards on the march and skulkers in the camp. Colonel Reid, first secretary to Washington, an accomplished Irish-American lawyer from Philadelphia, said of this class: "When I see how few who talked so largely of death and honour are around me, and that those who are here are those whom it was least expected, I am lost in wonder and surprise. Young

noisy Sons of Liberty are, I find, the very quietest in the field. An engagement or even the expectation of one gives a wonderful insight into character." The motto of all true sons of liberty was well expressed in the sentiment attributed to General Mifflin, who played a prominent part in the Revolution and was chairman of Congress at the end of war: "Let us not be bold in declaration and cold in action, nor pass noble resolutions and afterwards neglect their accomplishment." These brave men around Washington at Cambridge held to the democratic creed of the Chief Justice of South Carolina. "The Almighty created," said he, "America independent of Great Britain, hence let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments of the Almighty. Let us not refuse our labour in this great work of making our people a great, free, peaceful and happy nation."

Those pioneer rustic militia at headquarters were trained from the age of twelve years to rifle shooting and the use of the musket on their farms in the woods and plantations. "Over every cabin door," says Trevelyan, in his history of the American Revolution, "hung a well-made rifle, correctly sighted and bright with use. Beside it was a tomahawk and knife, a horn of good powder, and a pouch containing bullets, spaches and flints and steel tinders and whitestones, with oil and tow for cleansing the muzzle and barrel."

"The support of the family depended in great part on their existence. Straight shooting was a necessity. The deer and turkey and goose and at an earlier date on the east coast the buffalo were taken down by the rifle ball." It is not to be wondered if the American militia were expert marksmen. It is said that the sharpshooters or picked rifle corps could at quick march kill a man at a few hundred yards' distance, and it was one of the characteristics of those colonists never to waste their powder. The first pioneers ever aimed to kill, whether a buffalo, deer or Indian, was the quarry, and the tradition at the time those enthusiastic friends of Boston met their General in July of 1775 had not

departed. No wonder so many fell mortally wounded at Lexington and Bunker's Hill, and so many of the foraging parties during the war never returned to their camps after they encountered on the outposts "flying squadrons" of the Sons of Liberty.

From the commencement of his command at Cambridge, Washington kept a sharp watch on the enemy and occasionally skirmishes took place. He was at times impatient at having to hang so long on the enemy's outposts. The enemy, now commanded by General Howe, who replaced Gage, was most timorous of experiencing another Bunker's Hill. But the American General was impatient to try the mettle of his troops against the foe. This decision of his was not shared by the officers of his staff, whom he generally consulted. A forward movement was deferred at the advice of his council of war. All then that he could accomplish for the present was to equip his forces, watch the enemy closely and hem them in within their entrenchments.

The American army was deficient in skilled engineers, carpenters, blacksmiths, surveyors and purveyors. They had in their ranks men who, at raising embankments and entrenching themselves behind fortifications with spades and mattocks and picks and shovels, had no equal in any land or in any army. But for scientific military experts in the art of mapping lines, laying trenches and raising defences, such as a Frederick, a Cumberland or Napoleon employed, none were to be found around Cambridge. Later from France and Poland came men skilled in the science of Vauban, whose aid at Saratoga and Yorktown was indispensable and invaluable. The motley army was badly served with guns. Many had no firearms but old muskets that their fathers fowled with in the forests and fought with in the colonial wars. Many came armed with scythes straightened and fitted to long poles. The farm implements were the tools of war for others, whilst cannons, powder and bullets were scarce.

It was from Ticonderoga that Henry Knox brought into camp on sleighs, some months after July, forty cannons and twenty small pounders, together with thousands of bullets and a large quantity of powder captured at sea early in the Revolution by brave seafaring men, such as O'Brien, Manly, Barry; and hundreds of bold brave men came into camp with stores and provisions of every description. The cargoes of rum, beef, powder, etc., that covered the seas coming from England for the British troops found their way to the camp at Cambridge. It may be noted here that the American navy founded by Congress early in the war played a most important part in winning American liberty. Admiral Howe and a British fleet from the commencement of hostilities hovered around the seaboard of the States to protect the land forces, to prohibit American trading and to injure the towns along the seaboard as well as impede the fishing industry by which so many thousands of the colonists earned their living. As America was founded by experts in the arts of navigation, and as it was colonized for centuries by fearless pioneers in the mysteries of the sea, it is not to be wondered if those hardy seaboard men became the bravest and most daring soldiers on the sea that history records, and that hundreds of British vessels in merchant and navy service were captured during the war by those navy men of the Revolution.

Whilst Washington was strengthening his position around Boston he was at the same time urging upon Congress many necessary reforms. He considered that Congress did not allow him sufficient freedom of action as responsible Commander of the war. "I fear," said he to Congress, "that it may often happen in the course of our present operations that I shall need that assistance and direction from you which time and distance from you will not allow me to receive."

Congress and the States it represented were only united in one object—to resist English interference in their domestic

affairs and to resist force by force. Each State was jealous of its own authority, and Washington and Congress had at first only limited delegated power from the State Legislatures in the conduct of the war and the raising of the sinews of war. At first Washington could not call out the State militia over which he was Commander without authorization from the temporary State Assemblies. He was a servant of both the State and National Congresses. Many of the delegates did not trust Washington sufficiently at first to leave him a free hand in his military operations, and thus we find him indirectly complaining about his enforced limitations. It was one year later however before he boldly asked for, and after his victory at Trenton obtained, a free hand to carry out the plans he conceived best in the interests of his army. This power was conceded him by a resolution in Congress for six months. Prior to General Gage's return to England, as it was said to better advise the Ministry on American affairs, Washington had a spirited correspondence with Gage about his barbarous treatment of prisoners taken at Bunker's Hill. In this correspondence Gage ignored Washington's title as Commander and looked upon him and his army as rebel to their sovereign and deserving of the 'hemp.' The result of their literary encounter was the better treatment of prisoners on the part of both armies and a friendly exchange of prisoners. Except on one or two occasions in the after course of the war no complaints were considered necessary by either side.

About the commencement of 1776 affairs around Cambridge began to assume a rosy appearance for the Patriot army. The arrival of a large consignment of artillery and munitions of war rendered Washington in a fit and efficient condition to assume the offensive. Old Ethel Allen, by his daring and romantic courage in the autumn at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, did a service to his country that no chroniclers of these times can pass over. It was America's misfortune that his capture at Montreal a few

months later terminated his career in the cause of liberty. He was captured and transported to England. But although things looked bright in the early January, yet the six months that Washington had been sitting before Boston were not without trials for the General, as an extract from a letter to Congress shows. "It is not," he says, "in the pages of history to furnish a case like ours. To maintain a post without ammunition, and at the same time to disband one army and recruit another within rifle range of twenty odd British regiments, is more than probably ever was attempted. If we succeed as well," he adds, "in expelling the enemy as we did in above I think it shall be the most fortunate affair of my life." He adds, "No man in Boston wishes to destroy the nest more than I do, but owing to the open nature of the season without frost and deficient in boats we cannot cross and our powder is too scanty to waste on bombardment."

Just after the Canadian expedition under the ill-fated and brave Montgomery failed, General Clinton was secretly sent off from Boston with several well-equipped companies of soldiers to aid in the revolution which was actively spreading in Virginia and South Carolina. General Lee with 1,200 Connecticut soldiers was hurriedly sent off from Cambridge to watch Clinton's movements, and to forestall the British in New York, where it was at first presumed the British General intended to land and rally the Loyalists to his standard. The wealthy Loyalists in the city and neighbourhood of New York were a powerful body. Having so disposed his plans, as far as the North and South campaigns required the General's supervision, Washington now concentrated his energies about the end of February, so as to make it too hot for Howe to long remain inactive in Boston. On the 2nd of March he commenced a heavy bombardment of the English ranks, which cannonading he continued during the two succeeding nights.

Whilst thus harassing the enemy General Thomas, in the

quiet hours of the night, was ordered to lead a strong force of resolute Americans up to the Dorchester Heights within range of the ships and troops in Boston, and here before the misty dawn appeared this valiant band of "rebels" had themselves strongly entrenched. Howe at first was astonished how within range of his guns they mounted the heights, and he was still more alarmed at the strength of the fortress they had in a few hours raised. His first resolve was a brave one. It was the resolve of Gage at Bunker's Hill, of Montcalm, at Quebec. He would march out his men and expel them. Such a course was imperative as the enemy were within cannon range of his sea and land forces and already part of the city was in flames from the effects of the firing from the Heights. Howe's hopes of dislodging the patriots were soon dispelled by the adverse winds and boisterous seas which for three hours kept at bay his fleet and the 3,000 men he had ordered out to the attack. At last Howe saw that it was not possible for him to reach the enemy in their strong trenches, and he was forced to call a truce of arms in order that his forces might peacefully embark from Boston. Inside eleven days his troops had vacated Boston, and on the 17th of March Washington entered in triumph the capital of Massachusetts Bay and was hailed by a joyous and grateful people as their great deliverer.

Boston was at last free from the terror and the tyranny of a British army quartered in their city. The inhabitants had endured untold hardships. They had lived for sixteen months in dread of the cruel soldiery who, to procure fuel, pulled down their dwellings, burned their pews and pillaged their churches. The loyalists within the walls, like the soldiers, had been cruel and overbearing towards the common people, and many friends of liberty fled the town in fear and trepidation. Now the scene was changed. The unhappy band of loyalists to the number of 1,500 were in turn glad to escape under the British flag with Howe, at least as many as his sea-carrying accommodation would

allow. These loyalists were mainly composed of wealthy merchants, members of the Governor's Council, excise and custom officers and clergy and commissioners, and the fate which banished them from the city and the homes of their fathers for ever deprived them of most of their temporal possessions. The scene of woe and misery afforded by those misguided loyalists, young and old, embarking on board the crowded fleet and mixing with drunken soldiers was a pitiable sight to behold. Many sons of liberty who fled the city during the siege returned to their old abodes, and it was not long until Boston resumed its wonted, happy normal state.

The damage done to the town was comparatively little. Many of the heavier pieces of artillery were in the hurry and owing to the over-crowded state of the boats either spiked or buried; flour and war stores were in part destroyed. Thus ended for ever the rule of Great Britain in Boston.

Before Washington took up his position with his army in New York, his next theatre of action, he was the recipient of addresses from Massachusetts Assembly and from the National Congress at Philadelphia, to both of which public bodies he gave suitable replies. In his reply to the Legislature of Massachusetts the following noble and patriotic sentiments occur: "I esteemed it my duty to aid your afflicted colony in the unconstitutional and unjust action of Great Britain against your liberties. I rejoice that the metropolis of your colony is now relieved from a cruel invasion, and that those who were sent to erect the standard of lawless domination and trample on the rights of humanity are banished from your midst and my joy is greater since we have effected through the aid of Divine Providence this happy result without the effusion of the blood of our soldiers and fellow-citizens. May that Being, who is powerful to save us and in whose hands is the fate of nations, look down with an eye of tender pity upon the whole of the United Colonies. May He crown our arms with success in

the cause of mankind, and may His Divine favour restore your once happy State to more than its former lustre."

In the address from Congress, with John Hancock as President, the following passage occurs: "Those pages in the annals of America will record your title to a conspicuous place in the temple of fame which will inform posterity that under your direction an undisciplined band of husbandmen in the course of a few months became soldiers, and that the desolation meditated against the country by a brave army of veterans, commanded by the most experienced Generals, but employed by bad men in the worst of causes, was by the fortitude of your troops and the address of your officers, next to the Providence of God, confined for near a year within such narrow limits as scarcely to admit more room than was necessary for encampment.

"The Congress have ordered a golden medal adapted to the occasion to be struck and when finished to be presented to you."

CHAPTER VIII.

MRS. WASHINGTON IN CAMP: SOCIAL SIDE OF WASHINGTON'S LIFE.

WE will, now that Washington's operations have been successful in expelling the enemy from Boston, take a survey over personal and general matters bearing on the memoirs of our hero. We saw that his hurried summons to command the patriots did not permit him to bid good-bye to Mrs. Washington in person. However his cares were none the less real about his wife and home and family. The charge of his estates was entrusted to Mr. Ludd Washington, and to him Washington gave minute directions as to the management of his affairs and clear and accurate returns were to be made by him. As we saw Lord Dunmore, the loyalist Governor of Virginia, had armed the Tories and

assumed the offensive in that State, burning and pillaging towns and plantations; it was considered that Mrs. Washington was not safe at Mount Vernon, and as it was impossible for the General to visit her in danger, or to comfort her in her solitude and loneliness, he wrote her in November to come up to his camp at Boston, which she accordingly did, accompanied by her son, Mr. Custis, and his young wife.

Mrs. Washington drove in her own carriage, with a yoke of four beautiful horses, well groomed and richly decorated after the style of wealthy planters in those days in the "Old Dominion." The arrival of the Commander's wife at Cambridge was a day of special jubilation in the army. Some of the more anti-English among the patriots, whilst admiring the livery and scarlet-decked postillions, suggested that the style was too English and aristocratic. As Washington was constantly engaged among his corps, or in his office projecting with his officers or corresponding with the committees and Congress at Philadelphia and regulating military affairs with the legislatures of the different States, he had little time to devote to the social side of life, and although a man most courteous and ceremonious in his habits, yet attention to his professional concerns left him little or no time to discharge the duties of host in a manner suitable to the expectations of his new friends, the officers and civil authorities by whom he was surrounded. In a letter to Mr. Reid, his secretary, who hinted to him that some jealousies were visible on account of apparent neglect of sociability by Washington, he wrote: "My constant attention to the great and perplexing objects which continually arise to my view absorbs all lesser considerations, and I have scarcely time to reflect that there is such a body as the General Court of this colony." "The presence of Mrs. Washington," says Washington Irving, "relieved the General from this kind of perplexity. She presided at headquarters with mingled dignity and affability." Strangers were invited to dinners, and life was under Mrs. Washington's charming personality assum-

ing a more pleasing aspect. We find Mrs. Adams present at dinner with the General and his wife and the Generals of the army. John Adams also was a welcome guest at the board, and writing of a visit he paid to Cambridge, he says: "I dined at Col. Mifflin's with General Washington and his lady and a vast collection of other company, among whom were six or seven Sachems and warriors of the French Caughnawaga Indians with their wives and children. A savage feast they made of it, yet were very polite in the Indian style. I was introduced to them by the General as one of the Grand Council at Philadelphia, which made them prick up their ears. They came and shook hands with me." The presence of Mrs. Washington in camp gave a stimulus to the officers' ladies to sow and knit for the army. She was constantly in her spare moments engaged providing garments and necessary wearing apparel for the troops, many of whom came into camp very poorly clad and ill equipped for winter weather. If the opportunities around Boston were limited as far as Washington was concerned for social enjoyment, when he removed his headquarters to New York his toils and cares were incessant. He says: "I give in to no kind of amusements myself, and consequently those about me have none, but are confined morning and evening attending to public duties." Mrs. Washington was more restrained in her sphere of social activities, yet by her feminine graces and simple dignity she lent a charm to the scene in the midst of such stress of military cares. A lady complaining of the restraint of camp life at this time says: "We live like nuns stuck up in a convent, have no society in town nor can we go out after a certain hour in the evening without the countersign."

Although the General and Mrs. Washington were not at Mount Vernon to dispense hospitality and superintend their domestic affairs, yet their desire was that the honours of a generous planter's mansion should not be broken up, hence we find him writing to his steward as follows: "Let the

hospitality of the house with respect to the poor be kept up. Let no one go away hungry. If any of this kind of people should be in want of corn supply their necessities, provided it does not encourage idleness; and I allow you to give in charity to the amount of forty or fifty pounds a year where you think it well bestowed. You are to consider that neither myself nor my wife are now in the way to do these good offices."

A letter like this gives one an insight into the character of Washington. It shows the great heart of this great man. In the midst of mighty concerns and anxious times one might expect him to overlook such matters, but no: his calm, massive mind and generous nature overlooked no detail, and so we see the secret of his success. He was the ideal of the common soldier, if he was firm and unbending in discipline, he was kind, generous and sympathetic to their every want, and in him they knew they had a friend who cared for them like a father. Washington was much perturbed during the first year of his command over the demoralized state of the rude recruits from New England, the chief post of his army. He writes General Greene, himself a native of Rhode Island, in the following strain: "Such dearth of public spirit and such want of virtue. Such stock-jobbing and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantage of one kind or another I never saw before, and I pray God may never witness again. Could I have foreseen what I have experienced and am likely to experience, no consideration on earth should have induced me to accept this command." Greene, a loyal friend of the General, with great concern writes in reply: "That Washington had no time to make himself acquainted with the genius of their people; they are naturally brave and as spirited as the peasantry of any other country. The genius of the people is commercial from their long intercourse with trade. The sentiments of honour, the true characteristic of a soldier, has not yet got the better of interest. His Excellency has been taught

to believe the people here a superior race of mortals and finding them of the same temper and dispositions and passions and prejudices, virtues and vices of the common people elsewhere, they sink in his esteem."

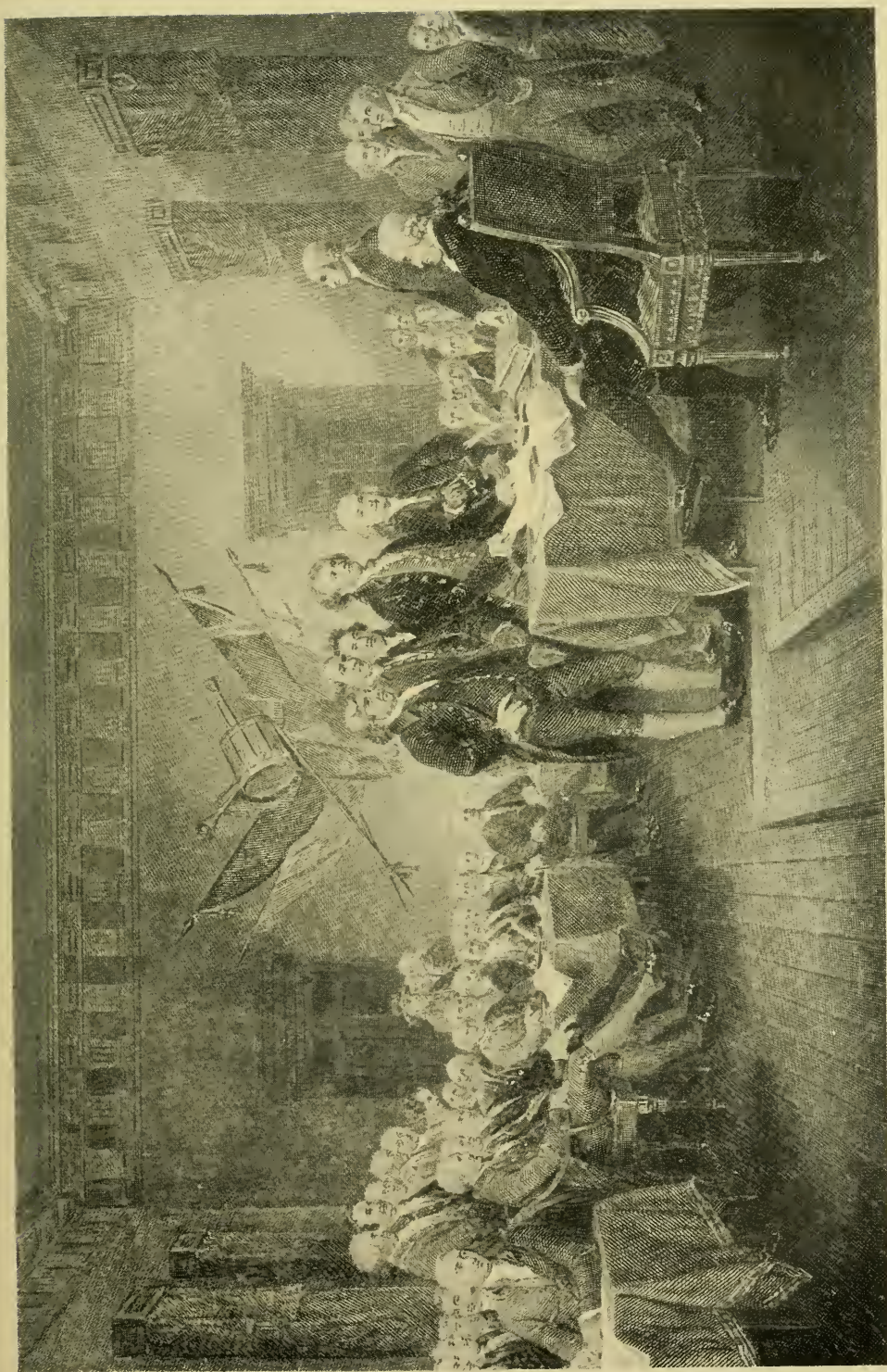
In explanation of the presence of Red Indians at headquarters we may mention that Carleton, the English Governor of Canada, was organizing the Northern tribes across the St. Lawrence and in New York State to join him in defence of Canada. Carleton, by the way, was an Irishman, a native of Tyrone and probably a relative of the novelist of that name, a most humane gentleman as his conduct on the death of Montgomery testifies, and his treatment of the dead and wounded and prisoners of war in the unfortunate expedition of Sullivan, Arnold and Burr confirms. Those who were not friendly towards the approaches of the English General came to Washington at Cambridge and Schuyler at Albany to see if the services of their tribes would be accepted by the Americans. Congress passed a resolution that unless the English should employ the Red men they would not allow them into their ranks. Washington knew the value of these savages better than most men. Fierce in their hate and deadly in their thirst for revenge, as allies they were not to be despised, though for real warfare they were more of an encumbrance than a help. To placate them on the borders would ensure security to the backwoods men, and where they were located the enemy could not forage in safety. Hence we see the General honouring these savages, dining with them and humouring their native pride.

CHAPTER IX.

CAMPAIGN AROUND NEW YORK: BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND.

WASHINGTON next directed his attention to the defence of New York, where he believed Howe had determined to establish his headquarters after the evacuation of Boston. This city commanded a prominent central seaboard position. To capture it meant much to the British. It was in New York and across in New Jersey and down in Maryland that the most influential Tories and Loyalists resided. From it could easily be captured the western districts, and up on the Hudson the forts and accesses to the North could be guarded. In New York a plot was brewing at the time of Washington's arrival in June, which had it been successful might have put an early end to the war. British gold was then as ever being freely used to buy traitors in the American ranks, and Tryon, the Tory mayor of the city, was in league, from a safe retreat on board a vessel at Sandy Hook, with the Loyalists within the city, now occupied by the continental forces. The plot, discovered and nipped in the bud, was a bold one, aiming at no less a coup than the capture of Washington as a prisoner of the British General. Fortunately it ended in smoke. One of the soldiers, an Irishman named Hickey, was convicted by courtmartial and shot in presence of the entire army, a rigid example of the strict enforcement by Washington of the principle of death to traitors. The work of fortifying New York was actively pursued by Washington's army. Obstructions were placed in the north and east rivers, batteries were erected on the islands and on the landing posts, and two strong forts were raised on either side of the Hudson, a few miles above the

city, Fort Washington was situated on the east side and Fort Lee on the Jersey side of the river. Congress in the meantime had given instructions that 20,000 additional troops be levied from New England, New York, Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania and Delaware. General Howe arrived on Staten Island, beside New York, on 1st July. Soon after his arrival a large reinforcement of troops joined his command. Admiral Howe, his brother, was in command of the fleet—a fleet so large and formidable that Parliament believed it would have little trouble in bringing the war to a successful close. Just about the advent of the British fleet under Lord Howe, the news came to Washington at New York, that the Act of Independence had passed in Congress and was to be proclaimed over the States. The news gave unfeigned delight to all America and was instrumental in raising the spirits of the troops to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. Great was the applause of the entire forces, as they were paraded, to hear the reading of the Declaration. The insignia of Royalty were torn down from the city hall and a leaden effigy of George III., which stood on a prominent pedestal, was converted into bullets for the continental army. By many true friends of liberty it was believed that the Declaration should have been made a year earlier. This might probably have saved Canada to the Union. It would have certainly rallied foreign support from England's rivals sooner to the American flag. It was the opinion of Washington from the beginning of the campaign that reconciliation short of subjugation was never contemplated by George and his war advisers in England. John Adams, in a letter to his wife, a true New England "daughter of liberty," epitomised the display of joy on the momentous day on which America had the Declaration flamed over the States: "The day," he wrote, "is past. The 4th of July will be memorable in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

celebrated as the day of deliverance by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp, shows, games, sports, bells, bonfires, and illuminations from one end of the continent to the other, from this time for ever. I am well aware of all the toil and blood and treasure it will cost us to maintain the Declaration and support and defend these States. But the end is worth more than all these means." Adams was a true prophet. The sacrifice of men and money was great before victory rewarded their patriotic endeavours when the Treaty of peace seven years later was signed; and ever since there is no day of the entire year on which more unbounded joy and enthusiasm prevails than on the 4th July, the anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The writer of this biography was witness of the festivities when on an American holiday in 1904, and from early morning till a late hour at night the town of Niagara and the Northern parts of the State of New York in which he was travelling were *en fête*. In the papers the next morning was a remark which was justifiable: "That there was more powder wasted on the anniversary day than was used during the entire Revolution." The commemoration and jubilation of this historic event reminds one of Easter Monday, the day St. Patrick proclaimed at the Public games at Tallaght, the establishment of the Christian faith in Ireland. A day ever since set apart for sports and games and jubilation. Lord Howe came over with forces which his masters in England believed would crush the rebellion in a few months. The most formidable army that ever sailed the seas from England at any time in history, but besides his big battalions he also bore the olive leaf. Instructions and power were given him to treat with the American people for peace. His powers were not however to recognize any authority in America, independent of that derived from and in subordination to England. Howe, however, found his task a difficult and a fruitless one. The people of America to whom

he appealed paid no heed to his proclamations for peace, and he was no more successful in his appeal to Washington, whom he addressed simply as "George Washington, Esqr.," a title Gage repented of applying to him a few months previously at Boston. Washington was not free to treat with him, had he been so inclined, in any official capacity. Congress were opposed to any overtures whilst their country was surrounded by a British army. Washington, in a courteous letter to the British General, thus writes: "I find you are empowered to grant pardons, we have committed no offence, we need no pardon." Reinforcements were coming regularly from England from the time the British Cabinet determined that the rebellion should be crushed. We find from Washington Irving that in the month of August General Howe had an active force of 24,000 men under his command.

"The Duke of Brunswick, the Langdarve of Hesse Cassel and the Hereditary Prince of Cassel, Count of Hanan, had been subsidized to furnish troops to assist England in the subjugation of her colonies. Four thousand three hundred Brunswick troops and nearly thirteen thousand Hessians had entered the British service. Besides the subsidy exacted by the German princes they were paid seven pounds four shillings and four pence sterling for every soldier furnished by them and as much more for every one slain." In the Southern States a part of the army was under the command of General Clinton at Charleston. The main body of Hessians at Staten Island were in charge of De Heister, while Lord Cornwallis at this time came over to command under Howe. Cornwallis was by far the most active and fearless General on the British side. We will meet with him in the hunt to Trenton, and we will see him scouring with his flying squadrons the Carolinas and Virginia in pursuit of Greene and the other American Generals. We know that he was at last caught like a rat in a trap at Yorktown. Those who wish to follow the fortunes of this intrepid

British nobleman may recall how he was placed over the King's troops in Ireland, how he refused to do the dirty work of murdering and slaughtering women, children and men in Ireland, how a cruel General named Lake took up his command and became almost as famous as Cromwell was in his Irish wars for his savagery in the Irish rebellion. It was Cornwallis, as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland in succession to Lord Camden, that worked up the cause of the Union for Pitt by bribery and corruption. The defeated General of Yorktown must have had bitter memories of the wounds inflicted on England by the sons of Ireland in the Revolution. Was it possible that his name is linked with the younger Pitt's infamy in revenge for Yorktown? We find Washington at this critical juncture, when the pick of the British veterans were gathering around him and his raw recruits at New York, writing to Congress on August 8th a letter from which we get some idea of the inadequacy of his forces to meet so formidable an army of veterans and picked officers as Howe commanded: "For the several posts," he says, "New York, Long Island, Governors Island and Paulus Hook, we have 17,225 men, of whom 3,668 are sick and that to repel an immediate attack he could certainly call on no other addition to his numbers than a battalion from Maryland." From Washington's correspondence at this time we also learn that he was not very hopeful of gaining any success against such superior forces, but as an encounter was imminent he was preparing to give battle and had hopes that the enemy would buy dearly any advantage they might gain over him. He sent Greene, his favourite General, to command 9,000 men that he had located on the Brooklyn Heights. Greene raised formidable fortifications between his lines and Staten Island, with the Brooklyn Hill intervening. It was expected that Howe would land his forces on Long Island from their encampment on Staten and there engage the Americans.

Washington knew that battle could not long be deferred, and

he used every effort of his genius to instil patriotism and courage into his inexperienced troops. The orders that he gave were soul-stirring. "The time," he says, "is now at hand which must determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves, whether they are to have any property they can call their own, whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness, from which no human efforts will deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance or the most abject submission. We have therefore to resolve to conquer or die. The eyes of our countrymen are upon us. Let us encourage each other and show the whole world that a freeman contending for liberty on his own ground is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth." Washington's stirring speech and brave words were aimed at the one end of bracing his men to face the foe with a firm front, each looking to his companion for support, and to his superiors for orders, none lagging behind. He promised death to deserters and rewards for bravery. The battle of Brooklyn on Long Island was fought on the 27th of August, 1776. The approximated strength of the armies was: English, 30,000; Americans, 18,000. Of course not more than one-half of the forces on each side were engaged. General Greene took ill prior to the war. The tension and anxiety and over-exertions in preparation for the encounter were too much for his powerful constitution. We saw how over-anxiety brought on a fever on Washington prior to Braddock's defeat, and the immortal Wolfe lay ill unto death before Quebec before he essayed its capture from the stupendous cliff below the Plains of Abraham. Greene's illness disconnected the plans of the General very much, and a brave though inferior and unsuitable General took command over troops he was not accustomed to command and over a country he had not reconnoitred.

The British landed on the southern shores of Long Island, and between them and the Americans lay the wooded heights of Brooklyn. The Prussian, De Heister, led the British centre ranks, whilst General Grant led the left wing. General Clinton, Lords Percy and Cornwallis had command of the main forces, which composed the right wing.

The British plan of attack placed the Americans between two fires and at the same time was so arranged that Putnam could not force a retreat without much loss of men. The contest was fierce and resolute on both sides. The British had all the advantages on their side. The Generals were skilled veterans, learned and experienced in the art of war on an extended scale. The soldiers were not like most of the Americans unused to arms, most of them having passed through the European wars when Pitt was at the helm of State. As already noted the British had the advantage in point of numbers. The driving force of patriotism and enthusiasm was the only peculiar advantage on the side of the colonials. Whilst the British foot and artillery marched to the attack by land, the flower of the English fleet kept up a deafening cannonade.

The unfamiliar sound of the heavy guns was bewildering and distracting to the raw levies of Putnam, Sterling and Sullivan, the three Generals in chief command. The result of the encounter was certain from the outset. The Americans offered a brave but brief resistance, and hard pressed by the Hessian centre were forced in confusion to fly to the woods. Lord Sterling and Sullivan were completely hemmed in by the enemy's right wing, and obliged to surrender, whilst the Hessians and Clinton with a detachment cut off all avenues of communication with the American camp. The defeat was complete at every point and upwards of one thousand prisoners were captured by the British. The rest of Putnam's army fell back to their entrenchments hotly pursued by the enemy's forces. Thus ended the important battle of Brooklyn Heights.

Washington, though not sanguine of any great success in this unequal encounter, was not prepared for so crushing a defeat. His anguish at the result which he witnessed from a distance was extreme. He had not been on Long Island at the beginning of the encounter; but when he arrived during the rout he saw at once and felt keenly the position he would be placed in by the disaster. There is no doubt that had General Howe followed up the attack with vigour he might have stormed the American lines and captured the entire forces under Putnam, thereby at one stroke nipping the colonial cause in the bud. He however contented himself with securing the ground he had gained and from some unknown cause allowed the enemy to remain in safety in their entrenchments. Even had the fleet advanced up the east river it would have been next to impossible for Washington to withdraw his Brooklyn forces from their perilous position.

As it was, the situation was a critical one for Washington. His army was disheartened, exhausted and exposed to inclement weather, with the enemy at hand entrenching themselves around the Heights. A council of war was called, and it was resolved that at night fall they should gather all the available boats and secretly withdraw to New York. The night was dark and misty. The enemy were busy with spade and pick-axe fortifying themselves. In the dead of night, in supreme silence, Washington, like a second Wolfe in a different cause and with other objects in view, transported his entire forces and baggage without the loss of a single man and unseen by the enemy across the blue, fog-bound waters to the city of New York. In this brilliant retreat across the river to the Manhattan banks our General performed a feat rarely surpassed in the history of warfare. He worked during this trying time almost beyond the limits of human endurance. He wrote some time after that for forty-eight hours he had not been out of his saddle.

Great was the surprise of the British when on the morning of the 29th of August as the fog lifted they descried the

deserted camp of the enemy. Marshall, in his life of Washington, says: "The manner in which this critical operation was executed and the circumstances under which it was performed added greatly to the reputation of the American General in the opinion of all military men. To withdraw without loss a defeated, dispirited army in their undisciplined state from the view of an experienced and able officer, and to transport them in safety across a large river while watched by a numerous and vigilant fleet, require talents of no ordinary kind; and the retreat from Long Island may justly be ranked among those skilful manœuvres which distinguish a master in the arts of war." Washington has been condemned by military authorities for risking his army in defending Long Island, but it was clear his object was to defend New York at all cost, and by defending Long Island he kept open a space of country between the city and the enemy. We might, however, doubt the wisdom of dividing his forces against a superior land force and with the great danger there was that the fleet would impede a retreat.

Writing to a friend he attributed the shameful defeat of the 27th of August in great measure not to want of bravery on the part of the men, but to the sudden surprise and precipitate retreat of two detachments posted in a wood to intercept the enemy. Washington had no cavalry and here lay a grave defect in his army in the beginning of the Revolution. Cavalry could easily have rectified the retreat of those troops and communicated particulars at once to Putnam, who was in command. Another defect calling for immediate remedy was the embarrassment of having officers elected by the local militia who were in many instances unsuited for command in any disciplined and formidable attack. The demoralizing effect of the defeat on the army was incalculable. The soldiers had as a consequence of this rebuff less confidence in their leaders and were inspired with dread of the enemy. To Congress Washington thus writes on the effects of the defeat: "Our situation is truly

distressing. The check our forces sustained on the 27th ult. has demoralized our troops. The militia instead of calling forth their best efforts to a brave and manly opposition in order to repair their loss are dismayed, untractable and impatient to return home. Great numbers of them have gone off. Want of restraint is universal. No trust can be placed in troops on temporary service." The 1st September found the British General in complete possession of Long Island. His next move it was presumed would be to capture New York. With the fleet to protect the landing of the troops on Manhattan there seemed little doubt that he would accomplish his object. Washington summoned a council of war and the decision was arrived at to defend New York for some time longer. The reason for this decision was that by so acting and impeding Howe's progress they would prevent him from further operations before he retired to winter quarters. It was not however considered possible under the circumstances that the continental forces could hold New York for long. A temporary occupation and some skirmishes with the enemy would tend to raise the drooping courage of the army. It soon however became evident that unless the American forces consented to be cooped up in the city and thus prevented from further participation in the struggle for liberty, that without further delay the city must be evacuated and the army must be led back towards the heights of Harlem. As the hopes and aspirations of the inexperienced troops after the Long Island disaster were cooled, Washington endeavoured by skirmishes with detached foraging parties of the enemy to revive the drooping spirits of his men. In some of these brushes with the British outposts he was eminently successful and inflicted much injury and loss of life to his adversary, with little loss to his own ranks. It was at this time also that the brave young Nathan Hale, from Connecticut, whom we may take to have been of Irish origin, gave up his life in the cause of his country. Washington had made an effort to enlist

some fearless patriot to venture within the British ranks as a scout and bring back information as to the plans and intentions of Howe. Young Hale, during those two weeks which elapsed from the evacuation of Long Island to the evacuation of New York, went across East river and entered Howe's camp as an American spy. He succeeded in getting much valuable information about the enemy's plans and fighting strength and was on his way returning to the American camp when captured. He was promptly ordered by a courtmartial to be hanged as a spy. He was very cruelly treated in his last moments, the ministrations of his clergyman being denied him. He wrote to his mother a farewell letter, but his jailer, without commiseration for a youth only 21 years of age, tore it before his eyes. His dying words were those of a hero: "I only regret I have but one life to lose for my country." Howe ceased his waiting tactics on Long Island, discontinued the bombardment of the city in consideration for his loyalist friends who were surrounded by the army of Washington, and under shelter of the fleet ordered Sir Henry Clinton to cross over to New York with a force of 4,000 picked men.

The place of landing selected was Kips Bay, between the two divisions of the American army, those commanded by Putnam yet in the city and the main forces on the Heights of Harlem. It is recorded that on this occasion Washington for the first and only time during the war lost his self-control on seeing the cowardly flight of the militia who were posted at this point to impede the landing of Clinton's troops. The excitement on seeing his men dispersing in wild confusion without waiting for the enemy to attack them overwhelmed him; and in his excitement he spurred his charger and galloped backward and forward among the soldiers in their disgraceful flight, calling upon them to form line and rally to the charge. He brandished his sword in their face and snapped his revolver, but all to no purpose. At last, in anguish and pain, he exclaimed: "Are these the men with

whom I am to defend America? ” Reckless of his own life and despairing of his cause in excitement he courted destruction by wanton exposure in front of his foe and only retired within his lines when forced to do so by his officers.

It was after this rout and retreat to Harlem that he obtained the ear of Congress to enlist a standing army instead of militia with short service. Each state was requested to raise a certain number of battalions and officers to be appointed in consultation with Washington.

As the above incident lets us see the volcanic nature of our hero at all times held in check by his indomitable will power, so the following incident which occurred some weeks later shows us the big heart of the man welling over with commiseration for his men. When Howe's troops were attacking Fort Washington and butchering the soldiers led by Colonel Megaw in the fortress, Washington, from his camp on the opposite shores of the Hudson, was an eye-witness of the harrowing scenes, and on the spectacle of seeing his men on bended knees, with uplifted hands appealing for their lives, the General, helpless to come to their aid, was unable to restrain his tears. The continental troops were not one moment too soon in evacuating New York, and as it was, the tail end of General Putnam's forces to the number of three hundred men, with much provisions and some heavy artillery, fell into the enemy's hands. The Americans first entrenched themselves on Harlem Heights, but soon it became evident that Howe, by his fleet moving up the river and into the Hudson, would make it impossible for Washington with safety to long hold these commanding Heights. After tarrying a few weeks at this post, during which time he had some successful skirmishes with the enemy, he removed up the country to the White Plains, and finally hard pressed by Howe on his flank, transferred his forces in part into New Jersey.

The two forts which Washington had raised and fortified early in the summer, Forts Washington and Lee, still re-

mained in his hands. After a council of war, about the advisability of holding on to Fort Washington on the East side of the Hudson, it was decided to place 2,000 men to guard it under Colonel Megaw. The plan that Howe had marked out for his activities was to bombard Fort Washington, and with his main army cross The Jerseys, conquer the territory on his march and capture Philadelphia, "the Rebel City," where he promised himself to establish his winter quarters. Washington, who knew the importance of guarding the Hudson, was intent on proceeding North along the river, but on learning of the enemy's intentions he left 4,000 of his troops under General Lee at North Castle on the Hudson and withdrew his main army to Fort Lee on the Jersey side of the Hudson river.

CHAPTER X.

RETREAT ACROSS THE JERSEYS.

MISFORTUNE was dogging the steps of Washington at this juncture. He was an eye-witness of the sad scenes and loss of 2,000 men at Fort Washington. Lord Cornwallis was approaching his main army with a superior force down the Jersey banks from the North. There was nothing left the General, hot pressed by the British De Wet of that time, but to retreat across The Jerseys towards the Delaware. This retreat remains in the history of the war as the most memorable and saddest episode in the Revolution. Misfortunes of many kinds tended to make this rout and retreat historic. The army became demoralized and desertions occurred in thousands. Hunger, cold and want of shoes, garments and blankets rendered the retreat through a then almost hostile country a case of "hoping against hope." The Flying Corps of Jersey militia enlisted for short service sought their homes and could not be induced to continue in

the ranks, pursued as they were by the swiftest and most skilled of the British Generals (Lord Cornwallis). The Loyalists, numerous in these parts, were flocking in hundreds to the enemy's standard, and hundreds of patriot farmers, in fear of the terrible successful pursuer, were swearing allegiance to England. The miracle of it all is that Washington's army was not either captured or annihilated on this memorable retreat, with a dwindling army and a rapidly pursuing foe; it required the most consummate generalship to keep the enemy at bay whilst crossing rivers and fords, and out-manceuvre so distinguished a young General with an army so well equipped for such a pursuit.

The following account by an eye-witness who shared the fatigue of the campaign in these November and December months of 1776 will give the reader some idea of the harrowing experiences attending the retreat:

"As I was with the troops at Fort Lee and marched with them to the edge of Pennsylvania," he says, "I am well acquainted with many circumstances which those that live at a distance know little of. Our situation was exceedingly cramped, the place being a narrow neck of land between the North river and the Hackensack. Our force was not more than one-fourth of the enemy. Having no army at hand to relieve our garrison we shut ourselves up and stood on our defence. Our ammunition, light artillery and the best part of our stores had been removed on the apprehension that Howe would penetrate The Jerseys. In that case Fort Lee could be of no use to us: for such forts are only temporary defences to oppose the enemy. Such was our position at Fort Lee on November the 20th, when we learned that the enemy had arrived in 200 boats some miles above. Major-General Greene, who commanded the garrison, immediately ordered them to be ready for action and sent word to Washington, who was six miles away, at the town of Hackensack. Washington reached us in three-quarters of an hour and assumed command. We marched

off along the Hackensack without any opposition from the enemy. We brought the chief part of our baggage with us. We had hopes to recruit on our march from Jersey to Pennsylvania States before we would make a stand against superior forces. We remained four days at Newark, collected our outposts and marched out twice to meet the enemy, whom we were informed were advancing, although our numbers were much inferior to theirs. Howe might have ruined us had Providence not guided our cause at this juncture. Cornwallis, who commanded the enemy's forces pursuing us, ceased in pursuit under directions from Howe at New Brunswick." Washington was at last, after many hair-breadth escapes, free from the intrepid pursuer, who often arrived at a bridge or ford which Washington after crossing had demolished. The entire forces at this time under Washington's command had been reduced by desertions and other causes to something like fourteen or fifteen hundred men. His army without much rest, devoid of the clothing necessary for the season—many of them were even barefooted (and it has been recorded that the blood-stained traces of their wounded feet could be traced along the rugged line of the march)—bore up wonderfully under their trials and displayed a noble courage. All their wishes were centred in one idea which was that the country would turn out and help them to drive back the enemy. The grand trait of Washington's character never showed to finer advantage than on this gloomy retreat. "There is," adds the narrative, "a natural firmness in some minds which trifling experiences do not reveal. God had given to the great General a mind which only expanded to best advantage under the most trying circumstances. He never faltered or lost heart in his cause." He is said at this time when the horizon of his hopes were dark indeed to have expressed himself that "in the last extremity he would withdraw to the mountains rather than disband his forces. His belief in the cause was so strong that he never lost dependence

on the succour of the Lord of Hosts for final success." A Tory journal at this time likened the rebel army to a tribe of wandering Arabs who were mouldering away "like a rope of sand." Washington himself, writing to his brother on 18th December from his camp near the Falls of Trenton, said that "the perplexity of his situation was beyond conception. No man," he says, "ever had a greater choice of difficulties and less means to extricate himself from them. However, with a full persuasion of the justice of our cause, I cannot entertain an idea that it will finally sink, though it may remain for a time under a cloud."

In reading over the historians in their narrative of this memorable retreat I have gleaned the following picture of these trying weeks, and we might say no pen-picture can do justice to the tragic scene enacted in The Jerseys in the winter of 1776. Many of Washington's soldiers had no other covering than a rifleman's frock of canvas over their shirts, and most of them were smitten with disease and swarming with vermin.

The four weeks' bivouac in the open, with sleet and hail storms and long marches over roads untrodden, had well-nigh left the army in a state of half nudity. The appearance of those hardy, though famishing, frontier men in their ragged attire was such as even to excite the pity and commiseration of their well-fed foes as well as their panic-stricken compatriots. There was a tone of proud contempt among the Loyalists as those tattered and barefooted groups, miscalled battalions, tracked their weary way with fainting steps through rain and mud, carrying their gaudy and emblematic but bespattered banners.

They carried little that might impede them lest their swift pursuer might overtake them, and the terror-stricken people of Jersey were afraid to supply their wants in food and clothing. Their appearance not alone gave boldness and courage to the Loyalists, but the half-hearted were in hundreds flocking into the enemy's camp and taking the

oath of allegiance to the King of England. Desertions from the retreating ranks were daily occurring. In its rapid dispersion Washington's army might well be likened to a rope of sand.

By the time the American troops reached the Delaware their condition was truly deplorable and their most *intimate* friends would have failed to recognize them, with their parched and pinched cheeks and their ragged attire.

The sick and the wounded were in many instances left to die in the villages as they passed along. Surgeons and surgical appliances and medicines were defective and almost at vanishing point in Washington's army at this time, although after the Alliance with France and when the organization was better ordered, the care and skill of the army doctors in the Revolution elicited admiration from no less an authority than the surgeon who had charge of the hospitals and medical staff during Napoleon's wars—he himself having served for a time in the American wars.

To add to the agony of the situation the soldiers who were chiefly employed by Howe in The Jerseys were the Hessians, those mercenary corps shipped over from the petty princes of Germany to fight for George in a war which was so unpopular in England that all the influence of the Royal call to arms, all the patronage and power behind the War Minister, Lord North, all the gold that a corrupt cabinet could dangle before the nations could not induce sufficient levies to answer the call to fight against their American cousins. The Hessians had neither inclination nor knowledge in the cause in which they fought. They had been coerced at home to enlist, their sovereign-lords receiving so much per head for each soldier supplied, so much for the wounded and so much for the dead. The poor automatic warriors knew nothing about the cause, were ignorant of the language, had but one desire and that was the practice of mercenaries in those days to rob and plunder and carry with them everything portable from the people as they

passed along. These men, under their own officers, knew no distinction between Whig and Tory; both were alike despised by them. They caused the aversion of both parties in The Jerseys to the cause of Howe, although all seemed to submit to the conquering heroes as they proudly marched along, burning and pilfering the homes from which the people fled to the woods and the hills in terror of their lives, homeless and penniless. "They stripped the houses," says Trevelyan in his history of the Revolution, "of every article of furniture, carried away what was portable, drove the cattle and sheep and horses before them into the English camp, and everything was stowed away in their knapsacks." Was it any wonder that those same Jersey farmers, with their wives and sons and daughters after the terror of the British and Hessian troops was removed and after Washington had turned the tables at Trenton and Princeton on his foe, were to a man for their deliverer, Washington, and that until the end of the war there was no State that stood out more loyal to the cause than New Jersey?

CHAPTER XI.

WASHINGTON'S ENERGY, HOPEFULNESS AND PLANS FOR THE FUTURE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE ARMY: BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON.

DURING those trying weeks, when Washington saw his army melting away before his eyes and the enemy's ranks proportionately increasing, he never ceased exerting himself in the interests of his cause and country. He was writing daily reports to Congress, which were read aloud to the delegates. He was appealing to the State Governors for recruits and munitions of war, and above all he was most urgently and forcibly pointing out to the National Assembly the causes and the remedies for the late disasters that overtook their army since the victory at Boston.

In these communications to Congress Washington did not conceal from Congress the deplorable condition of their affairs, nor did he promise any success in the future unless speedy and effective remedies were adopted. He told them it was in vain to expect more than a trifling part of the army now serving to re-enlist on the old conditions, seeing that the enemy paid double the bounty and twice the pay, besides food and warm garments, that they offered their recruits. "You need not," he said, "expect the men to join now as in the beginning of the war when the patriotic spirit was fervent. Men won't join our ranks and leave their farms and wives and families whilst others remain at home unless high inducements are offered." "It follows," says he again, "that Congress should offer a bounty for enlistment, and the time limit should be for not less than a year. It is not to be expected that from militia coming in raw, undisciplined and inexperienced in drill and camp life, the same effective service can be obtained as from veterans. It takes time to drill and render effective new levies, and some limit must be put to the constant changing and coming and going of corps if we are to have a standing army to rely upon." He suggested that twenty dollars be given as a bounty to each man and a suit of clothes and blankets for service and a promise of 150 acres of land at the end of the war. He further recommended men of better position in life for officers: men of education, substance and military training, because the rank and file won't respect and obey officers selected as hitherto in some of the States by votes from the ranks. The officers around Boston were chosen to command by the votes of the militia. This was chiefly the case in the New England States. This democratic spirit is most laudable in civil government, but in military government it proves ineffective and makes inevitable insubordination where order, discipline and obedience should reign. He advocated higher pay for officers to enable them to live like gentlemen and to encourage men of

talent and position to compete for service. He tells them (the Congress) that their cause cannot build much hopes on militia. Men dragged from the tender scene of domestic life, unaccustomed to the din of arms and totally unaccustomed to any kind of military service, without any confidence in themselves when opposed to trained and disciplined troops led by officers superior in knowledge and arms, because they are timid and ready to fly at their own shadow. To depend on such is like resting on a broken stick. Witness their flight at the approach of danger at New York. Witness the desertion of these same militia since the retreat from Harlem.

Sickness also enters easily among new levies of raw recruits untrained to camp life. You cannot banish the fever of home sickness from their minds, and they are with difficulty brought under discipline and military rule. The bad example such temporary recruits give to the ranks has a vicious effect on the martial spirit that should permeate an army. In fine, short service enlistment must be abolished: they must build up a permanent army to last till the end of the war. He tells them that the time for experimenting is over and their army on the point of extinction. They must set about its re-organization at once. Congress was up till this time very reluctant to give the Commander-in-Chief a free hand for the successful prosecution of the war. He complained to them about the round-about way in which he was compelled to execute his wishes and commands. There was too much red-tapeism, and he was being hampered by having to carry out his commands through Governors for their States and Congress for the Union. He could neither reward merit nor directly raise levies, and both these defects he pressed upon the consideration of Congress.

Congress was beginning at the ninth hour to become alive to the nature of the crisis the nation had to make provision

for, and just before the battle of Trenton endowed the Commander with dictatorial and unlimited powers for six months.

Congress, it may be here recorded, does not during those trying years get credit for the highest wisdom or statesmanship by posterity. This may in part be attributed to the fact that they did not aid and assist and co-operate with Washington in fair and foul weather during his arduous campaign. Sometimes they gave too much latitude to faction. Sometimes they were too slow in coming to the aid of the General financially and otherwise. But at this time and for the years that followed 1777 the best men were not in Congress and rarely were more than twenty or twenty-five assembled in Congress to carry out the wishes of the Confederacy. The best men, like Franklin, were away interceding at foreign courts or acting as Governors over their own States or serving here and there as officers over the Union or carrying out in other places the executive part of the Congress work. Those who attended Congress regularly, like Robert Morris, Charles Thompson and John Adams, were over-worked and badly remunerated. For weeks at a time these delegates worked daily from eight o'clock in the morning till five in the evening without one moment's intermission. Hence history should not be too severe on the acts of Congress. The motives that actuated these patriots cannot be impugned, and it redounds to their credit that, with Washington seemingly a fugitive before the swift-footed Cornwallis and the cause steeped in a gloom beyond conception, Congress should resolve that they "relied on his patriotism and wisdom, vigour and uprightness. That he be empowered to raise additional regiments of artillery and a corps of engineers and to call upon any of the States for such aid of the militia as he should deem necessary, to displace and appoint all officers beneath the rank of Brigadier-General, to take at a fair price all supplies and equipments required for the use of his army, and to send for trial to the magistrates disaffected per-

sons opposed to their cause." Time was precious to Washington at this juncture. He saw that a mighty effort must be made, not alone to recruit an army strong enough to cope with Howe in the spring after his winter rest, but also to bring about at once some successful action against the enemy to raise the drooping spirits of his men, to assist the States in enlisting recruits and to undo the work that Cornwallis had effected in paralyzing in his march to the Delaware, the Jerseys and part of Pennsylvania. The successes of the British arms had put new life into the Loyalists, and Washington was, at a moment when his plight was deplorable, planning for a bold attack to retrieve the fortunes of war. Long Island, New York, the loss of Forts Washington and Mifflin and the retreat over the Jerseys were disasters that brought gloom and despondency to the mind of the nation. What was it possible, humanly speaking, for him to accomplish in the depth of winter that would arouse the dying hopes of his army and country? Washington, in the midst of all the gloom, was silently planning the memorable victories of Trenton and Princeton, whilst the British Commanders were feasting sumptuously and carousing and rejoicing over their victories. Howe and Cornwallis had taken up their winter quarters at New York. The latter General, had his superior Howe allowed him to continue his successful march in pursuit of Washington, would have continued his victories and march until Philadelphia had been reached and in all likelihood he would have forced the capital of the nation to yield and at the same time have compelled the General and his dwindling corps to fly to the highlands above the Congressional city; but Howe recalled the noble soldier and by the withdrawal of the high pressure of Cornwallis on his rear, Washington got breathing space for reflection and time also to allow the army of General Lee to join his own under the leadership of General John Sullivan. When Washington was retreating across The Jerseys he from time to time sent urgent messages to General Lee, who com-

manded between three and four thousand troops to hasten forward and join him. Lee did nothing to expedite matters. On the contrary, he made no secret that Washington to his mind was an incompetent Commander. He kept constantly undermining his authority, disregarding his directions, complaining to Generals and Congress about his faults and want of success. He advocated three independent commands in the American army, one to the North, one to the East and Washington's. Lee was all the time from the commencement of hostilities working for his own honour and glory; the honour of the American cause was with him a secondary consideration. His procrastination and intriguing resulted in his capture by the enemy. Fortunately for Washington the capture took place in a farmhouse where Lee was lodging for the night, away some miles from his army. Sullivan was next in command, and this brave Celtic soldier lost no time in assuming leadership, and by marches four times faster than Lee's, he hurried the well-rested troops to the Delaware and joined the Commander-in-Chief before Christmas.

Washington was soon to have his reward, and I cannot refrain in this place from quoting a beautiful passage from Trevelyan's "American Revolution."

"A Commander," says the historian, "patient and intrepid in adversity and silent under calamity, who never attempts to gloss over his reverses or to explain away his mistakes, reaps the reward of his honesty and self-control tenfold and a hundredfold when out of the cloud of gloom and peril success at length comes. No one then questions the truth as he tells it in his despatches. Men are inclined to overrate rather than depreciate and to decry the advantages he has gained and few grudge the full credit of victory to a General who has always accepted the entire responsibility for faction." Even the enemies of Washington look upon the success on the banks of the Delaware under such adverse circumstances as the greatest achievement of the

Revolution. Cornwallis, replying to a toast given by his captors after Yorkton, said that when the illustrious part that Washington bore in this long and arduous contest becomes matter of history, fame will gather his brightest laurels rather from the banks of the Delaware than from those of the Chesapeake. Washington was aware, after Cornwallis had returned to New York, prior to his intended trip to England to report his success to the ministry, that some fifteen hundred Hessian and English soldiers were camped at Trenton. He determined to surprise them by a bold stroke of generalship. He was resolved to strike a blow that would bring joy and hope to his army and their cause. Accordingly about midnight on Christmas Eve he divided his forces into three parts, with the first of which, led by Greene and Sullivan, he proposed to cross the Delaware, some nine miles above Trenton, and fall down on the Hessian Commander, Ralle, before daybreak. The second and third divisions were to land nearer Trenton and meet the enemy fleeing from the town. The plan was admirable, but owing to the insurmountable obstacles presented by the Delaware river, the second and third parts of the plan failed. The British Generals in their winter quarters had little idea that the rebel forces would rally to attack them at any point during such inclement weather. Howe was commissioning his favourite General to inform Lord North that the war was as good as ended, and that the people were again renewing their fealty to the Crown. Little did they think that the darkest hour in the cause of freedom was a prelude to the dawn and that before the New Year should be ushered in the name and fame of the Fabian Commander would be far above the renown of Howe and on a par with the greatest Generals in history.

It was at the hour of midnight that Washington led across the frozen and turbulent river, in snow and sleet, with a boisterous current carrying blocks of ice in its course, and in open boats, an army of 2,500 men. The night was

bitterly cold and the brave men in their threadbare apparel were blinded by snow-drift and bitten by the frost. One or two men perished from cold. Yet in the midst of the many obstacles the well-manned fleet of river boats, without confusion or without one of the number being driven back or carried by the river off its course, reached the Trenton shore, thanks to the guiding Providence in whom Washington always trusted, and thanks to the skill and dogged determination of the officers, men and their brave Commander. This achievement of Washington is considered, under the circumstances in which it was carried out, as the most remarkable military exploit recorded in history, a greater feat even than transporting some months previously 10,000 troops from Brooklyn to New York in the teeth of the land and naval forces of the enemy. His army was melting away from fatigue and hunger. He was depending on militia corps discontented and soon about to disband as their term of enlistment expired. We must not forget also that the troops were in part without boots and winter garments. Much delay was encountered in this expedition by crossing over the artillery, manned by that brave Ulsterman, General Knox. It was eight in the morning before Washington reached Trenton. He himself led in person and marched into the town by the upper road. General Sullivan, with a division of the 2,400 picked men selected for the attack on Ralle's camp, took the lower road. The attack on Trenton was so judiciously planned and so secretly and quietly executed that the advance guard of Washington's main army was driving in the outposts and shooting down the sentries before the alarm reached the British Commander in Trenton that the Americans had surrounded them. Colonel Ralle, a brave, jovial Hessian soldier, who was in command, was informed by a messenger, and the cannonading of the artillery by Knox, who did not spare his ammunition as he opened fire on the enemy from the main approach to the town. Ralle, half-dazed from a night's

drinking, rushed out from the card-table in hot haste, mounted his horse and most courageously exhorted his frightened troops to rally to the call of duty. It was too late. The British artillery was rendered useless from the first; the Americans made all thoroughfares impossible by shot and shell, and Colonel Ralle was quite unable to enthuse his affrighted soldiers. All was soon over when the British Commander fell mortally wounded in front of his troops. Panic became general. Those of the enemy who could escaped towards Princeton. There were at least a thousand between killed, wounded and captured of the enemy put out of action, the remaining few hundreds made good their escape to Princeton. Six cannons, 1,000 stand of arms and four colours became the trophies of the victors. The victory was complete, and not a single soldier would have escaped had the other two detachments assigned to Colonels Irwin and Cadwallader been equally successful. The swollen river however and floating ice were barriers too powerful for these brave men, and hence the avenue for retreat was open for the fugitives who, to the number of 500, fled to Princeton. A beautiful trait in the character of Washington was evinced in his visit of sympathy when he paid a token of civility to the brave, though unfortunate, Commander, Colonel Ralle, who did not long survive the fatal wound he received.

The report of Washington's glorious victory at Trenton had a wonderful effect on the American nation at a time when defeat after defeat seemed dogging the army, the victorious British fast advancing across the Jerseys when Congress for security had retreated to Baltimore and the citizens of Philadelphia were panic-stricken and subdued by the presence of unfriendly Hessians and bantering Loyalists who held sway in the city. And yet the time of jubilation was changed to a note of sadness when a thousand prisoners from Trenton arrived under guard of American soldiers. Washington's army, at this time after the Trenton victory, did not amount to more than 4,000 able-bodied men. This

number was a fair index of the hopelessness of the short service system and an indication to Congress that a standing army, as suggested by Washington, was the only hope that their cause would reach success. The astonishment of the British Commander was extreme, as he learned in the midst of his joviality at New York of the unexpected exploit. The cause of the army of Washington was considered so hopeless that Cornwallis and Howe in their proclamations had just granted the rebel Americans sixty days of grace to return to their allegiance to His Most Gracious Majesty George III., to unconditionally surrender and then accept pardon as repentant rebels. Washington and the patriots who fought under him considered they had committed no offence and needed no pardon. Trenton was the answer he flung in the face of his adversaries. Some one has said truly that campaigns and battles are as much won by the errors of the one side as by the courage and skill of the other. The victory of Trenton is a case in point, although such Fabian tactics, backed up by such undying patriotism as those warriors who crossed the Delaware displayed, could not brook defeat. The watchword of Washington's army was "Victory or death." Hence we may well compare them with the bravest of the brave who ever rushed upon a foe to our Irish heroes at Fontenoy or the Bridge of Athlone. Although the feat of the Trenton Light Brigade was glorious from the completeness of the victory and the fewness of the numbers lost, not more than half-a-dozen were lost in dead and wounded.

The victory of Trenton drew Howe from his winter quarters on Staten Island and prevented Cornwallis from setting sail for Europe. It was a rude awakening for those proud English Generals, and the glowing pictures they penned to London about the autumn campaigns and the certainty that the war would be ended in the spring of 1777, had now to be somewhat modified. The smouldering embers of American patriotism in the depth of winter had flashed into a

dangerous flame. New vigour had taken hold of the patriot's breast. Trenton must be avenged, and in hot haste Lord Cornwallis was ordered to proceed to the scene of victory and overpower Washington.

On the morning of the 2nd of January the two armies were facing each other outside Trenton, being only separated by a narrow creek, well guarded by American artillery placed opposite the bridge which spanned the Assunpeak river. It was at last beginning to dawn upon the British Generals that it was no novice-in-arms they had encountered in Washington. All Europe had already admitted his Fabian skill in tactics and generalship. To keep an army together for so long under such chilling disasters and in face of such well-equipped forces, to emerge from such a retreat in the depth of winter as if from annihilation, to capture by a bold and hazardous attack over a thousand veterans with a famished and untrained militia, and thus turn a retreat into victory, showed the highest form of military genius. Trenton meant much to the American cause. It was equally vital to the British. If the rising hopes of the young Republicans were not at once crushed, the tide of victory that had hitherto flowed and gained volume as it coursed from the Hudson to the Delaware with the British arms would soon recede and transfer itself to the American ranks. Washington was in command of 4,000 men. Cornwallis had a force opposite him and coming up by stages in his rear of about 8,000. On the morning of the 3rd January a battle seemed inevitable and the American General was to all appearance in the net of his opponent. Had Cornwallis in the least doubted that—as he said to an officer who advocated an attack on the night of the 2nd—on the morrow he would safely “bag the fox,” he would not have slept so soundly in his camp whilst the American fox was, unknown to him, eluding his sentinels. But it was not conceivable how Washington could

either cross the Delaware or escape to the Highlands, hemmed in as he was by such a powerful enemy.

Cornwallis then did not reckon upon the possibility of a retreat under cover of the night, which was in fact the course decided upon after a council of war had been held in the American camp. A cannonade to distract the enemy was kept up whilst workmen were by the light of their camp fires entrenching and strengthening the fortifications as if in preparation for to-morrow's encounter. Whilst the cannons pealed and the picks and spades rattled and the torches blazed, Washington had packed up and sent off his waggons and stores by a circuitous route towards Burlington, whilst noiselessly before the very eyes of the enemy he marched off his entire forces. The movement was perfectly executed, and as Cornwallis began to reconnoitre, when the winter sun cleared off the morning mist, he saw to his astonishment a deserted camp with the fox gone "he knew not where." However as the patriots neared Princeton they encountered some detachments of the enemy who were hastening towards the camp of Cornwallis, and the cannonading that took place in the encounter pointed the way and at once Cornwallis was in pursuit. He had fears that Washington was hastening to capture the magazines at Brunswick where the British stores were located.

Washington had made sure that his retreat should not end in failure. He had his stores sent off to a place of security, higher up off the main route. He also led his forces by an unaccustomed route, known to himself and his men, but little known to the British General. At Princeton there were three regiments resting for the night *en route* to join Cornwallis at Trenton. Two of these detachments boldly engaged the army of Washington as it approached. The advanced guard of the American army under General Mercer attacked the first of these divisions, but the British bayonets caused a rout among the rustic army and the frightened militia fled in confusion. At this juncture

Washington himself appeared upon the scene at the head of the main body. He succeeded in rallying the flying squadron and boldly gave the lead to the united forces himself leading in the charge. This decisive action of the general soon turned the tide of battle and the enemy was routed and the town of Princeton surrounded. The regiment of three hundred camped in this place was overpowered and soon surrendered as prisoners of war, and thus ended the second memorable victory for Washington in this campaign. The American loss in the battles of Trenton and Princeton was trifling in all, not more than fifty in killed and wounded. The British in these two campaigns lost in prisoners and slain 1,500, and amongst them some generals who had given a good account of themselves both on Long Island and across the Hudson. The most notable loss on the American side was Dr. Mercer, a personal friend of the general, a neighbour of his from the Potomac, one who nursed him in his sickness in the colonial wars and as brave a soldier as fought in the cause of freedom. General Mercer, who led in the van of Washington's army on the morning of his memorable escape from Assunpeak, was a man of mature age. He had served as surgeon in Prince Charles' army at Culloden as he had served in the army of the ill-fated Braddock during the Indian raid. The troops he commanded at Princeton were unworthy of their general. They deserted him whilst he fought and fell covered with wounds. Washington was much affected at the loss of so brave a soldier and so true a friend. Washington's forces were not in a fit condition to engage in a renewal of hostilities from the fast advancing fresh troops of Cornwallis. The swift-footed British General lost no time in his pursuit, leaving the heavy train to follow he overtook the tail end of the American army as they had just crossed one of those many bridges that spanned a fast-running river. A brave Irishman named Kelly acted an heroic part on this occasion by remaining behind the army and in face of the advancing

enemy demolishing the bridge, sticking to his post until the last plank was thrown into the river regardless of the bullets that whizzed around him. By this action the main force of Cornwallis was retarded until Washington was well on his course up towards Morristown in the Jersey Highlands.

Although Cornwallis urged his troops to ford the river up to the neck in water, it was all to no purpose, for by a circuitous and woodland route the American General was pushing on to his retreat at Morristown, where his bare-footed, cold and hungry troops could rest among friendly hills and kind neighbours until the winter should be passed. And thus ended the memorable campaign of the winter of 1776 and 1777.

The old spirit of reckless bravery for which Washington on that memorable day became famous among the officers and aides-de-camp of Braddock seized him at Trenton and Princeton. Every historian of these battles makes special mention of his fearless leadership and personal bravery. He not alone set a good example to his army, but he made them fearful for his safety and impressed them that he had a charmed life, and that he was specially protected from the bullets of the enemy by Providence. He led in each of these engagements, was exposed to all the perils of the field, leading in person in the most dangerous situations, plunging, as at Princeton, into the hottest fire, and by his own personal valour animating his troops. Upham, his biographer, speaking of the battle of Princeton, says: "That one of his officers thus wrote about his action: 'Our army love the General very much, but they have one thing against him which is the little care he takes of himself in any action. His personal bravery and the desire he has of animating his troops by example make him fearless of danger. But Heaven, which has hitherto been his shield, I hope, will continue to guard so valuable a life.' " We may make no apology for inserting here the substance of a letter written by Colonel John Fitzgerald, aide-de-camp to

Washington, a brave Irish officer who distinguished himself in the Revolution war. This aide-de-camp had been ordered to bring up the troops from the rear when the section under General Mercer became engaged. Upon returning to the spot where he had left the Commander-in-Chief he could not see him; on looking round he discovered him endeavouring to rally the line which had been thrown into disorder by a rapid onset of the foe. Washington, after several unsuccessful attempts to restore order, is seen to run up his horse with his head to the enemy and in that position to become immovable. It was a last appeal to his army and seemed to say will you give up your General to the foe? Such an appeal was not made in vain. The discomfited Americans rally on the instant and form into line. The American Chief is between the adverse posts as if he had been placed there a target for both. Can escape from death be possible? Fitzgerald, horror-stricken at the danger of his beloved Commander, dropped his reins upon his horse's neck and drew his hat over his face that he might not see him die. A roar of musketry succeeds and then a shout. It was the shout of victory. The aide-de-camp ventures to raise his eyes and, oh, glorious sight, the enemy are broken and flying, whilst dimly amid the glimpses of smoke is seen the Chief alive, unharmed and without a wound, waving his hat and cheering his soldiers to pursuit. The warm-hearted son of Ireland rushed to his side and with joy exclaimed: "Thank God, your Excellency is safe," and then wept with joy like a child, although a man of military courage, a man of thew and muscle. The General, calm amid the din of arms, affectionately grasped the kind-hearted soldier by the hand, and then gave his orders, saying: "Away, my dear Colonel, and bring up the troops, the day is our own."

CHAPTER XII.

THE GENERAL'S HANDS STRENGTHENED.

CONGRESS had, as we have seen, communicated its instructions in obedience to the implied request of Washington for more powers conferring upon him almost unlimited authority in the reorganization of the army. These powers were to last for six months. The notification of the decision had been made known to the different States through the National Secretary. In acknowledging the powers conferred by Congress upon him, Washington wrote : ' I find you have done me the honour to entrust me with powers in my military capacity of the highest nature and almost unlimited in extent. Instead of thinking myself freed from all civil obligation by this mark of your confidence I shall constantly bear in mind that as the sword was the last resort for the preservation of our liberties, so it ought to be the first thing laid aside when those liberties are firmly established. I shall instantly set about making the most necessary reforms in the army, but it will not be in my power to make so great progress as if I had a little leisure time upon my hands.' The general was busily engaged during the months following his encampment at Morristown making provision for the summer campaign, and although he made superhuman efforts to raise the necessary recruits for a standing army, he was not unmindful of the necessity of keeping an eye upon the enemy. His object was to harass the outposts of the enemy by flying squadrons, to make it unsafe for their foraging parties to go outside their lines. He had also to keep alive the good spirits and hopeful resolve of his troops. He had to placate the Tories and make enthusiastic in his cause the inhabitants in Jersey

and Pennsylvania and the country over which Cornwallis some time previous had marched like a conquering hero and whom the mercenary Hessians had most wantonly and indiscriminately robbed and hunted by their cruel depredations. In achieving these objects Washington soon reached the hearts of the harassed New Jersey farmers. When he captured at Trenton one thousand soldiers, he proclaimed their stolen property was to be restored to all who established claims to its possession. By this act of justice he converted the waverers, the fearful and all the Whigs to active agents in his cause, and active and loyal New Jersey remained until the end of the Revolution. He succeeded in harassing the English army to such an extent that Cornwallis, who was in command outside New York, could not procure food nor clothing nor any provender, horses, cattle or recruits. He was compelled to draw in his ranks and keep alive for the hourly attacks of the farmer volunteers who were determined to revenge the wrongs they and their families endured in October and November of 1776. It became well known to Congress and the Commander of the American army that the war party was powerful and active in England at this time. The hope of the King and his ministry was that the forces they should command in the spring in America should enable Howe in a short summer campaign to successfully subjugate the rebel forces. Reconciliation was not now advocated by any strong party in England. Subjugation and annexation was the goal of policy. Before the arrival of the news of Trenton and Princeton there did not up to March, 1777, seem to be any doubt about the result in the anxious minds of the British Cabinet. However fresh supplies of men and immense cargoes of stores and sinews of war were pouring in to the British army. Ninety thousand tons of freight for the upkeep of the army were shipped every month from England over a perilous sea, dangerous for sailing vessels and hazardous owing to the numbers of American piratical

frigate vessels in the service of Congress that hovered along the seaboard from Maine to Georgia. The relative strength of the contending armies since the beginning of 1776 is thus tabulated from authentic sources (English):

		BRITISH		AMERICAN
1776, Aug.	...	24,000	...	16,000
„ Nov.	...	26,000	...	4,500
„ Dec.	...	27,000	...	3,300
1777, Mar.	...	29,000	...	4,500
„ Jun.		30,000	...	8,000

Congress, knowing from the Commander-in-Chief the condition of the army and its complete inability to cope with the enemy, wrote thus officially to Washington: "It is the desire of Congress to make the army under Washington's immediate control and independent of militia for local defence so strong that not only may it be able to curb and confine the enemy within their present quarters and prevent their drawing support of any kind from the country, but that by the divine blessing may totally subdue them before they can be reinforced."

The different States did not at first respond to the representations and exhortations of Congress, and it was summer before the continental forces were sufficiently strong to wage aggressive warfare.

Although Howe was enjoying repose with his well-equipped and comfortably camped army at New York and Brunswick, he was not entirely unemployed. England expected great things from their trusted Commander. She had not been niggardly with him either in men, money or fleet to protect him. For two years she had been covering the Atlantic with cargoes for his army, emptying the Exchequer to buy mercenaries in Germany, and great achievements were expected from such a veteran army officered by brave Generals. The nation behind the army had rallied wonderfully. The English always do pull together when

they are placed in a tight corner, and it seemed, contrary to expectations, that the rustic rebels were neither novices with their rifles nor laggards in defending their country. Was it possible that after two years' fighting and sounding trumpets and issuing of proclamations, that this mighty army, the most powerful ever sent over the seas from England, that now in the spring, 1777, thirty thousand efficient troops ready for action were practically cribbed and confined along the Eastern seaboard, unable to procure food for man or horse unless by surprise raids and with much damage to the scouting parties engaged. Such, however, was the true picture as narrated by all chroniclers of the war. Nor were the greatest soldiers and statesmen then living surprised. The great Pitt told the war party in his place in Parliament that it was impossible to conquer America. Frederick of Prussia, now grown venerable with the weight of years and the laurels of many victories, considered that "England had entered on a hopeless task, and he was confident that the colonies would maintain their Independence." Howe, from some inexplicable cause, did no effective work to end the war for over six months after the battle of Princeton. However he kept an eye on the operations of the American forces, and at two points where the Americans had collected stores he despatched contingents to attack the garrisons and carry off or destroy the provisions and stores. With five hundred troops he routed a garrison fifty miles up the Hudson and destroyed the effects and stores, and at Danbury in Connecticut he with 2,000 troops dispersed the garrison and demolished the stores collected. In this latter operation Generals Sullivan, Arnold and Worster, the latter of whom was killed, hotly pursued them and many on both sides were slain.

Washington made a successful surprise raid on the stores on Long Island by way of retaliation, and the Colonel in command of the expedition was presented by Congress with sword for his bravery.

CHAPTER XIII.

FOREIGN AID AND SYMPATHY.

IN the spring of 1777 the location of the two forces was as follows: Washington was stationed at Morristown. Burgoyne had reached Canada with the army destined to meet its defeat at Saratoga in the autumn. Howe was at the head of the main army in and around New York. How was Washington to meet his adversaries with sufficient strength before the summer? His own powers were, as we saw, unlimited, but these powers had to be backed up by a loyal people enthusiastic in the cause by the individual States acting through their Governors and committees and co-operating with Congress, and both Congress and States loyally co-operating with the Commander-in-Chief.

There were no lack of brave and patriotic men in every State in the Union during the Revolution crisis. The two Adams and Turbill, Hancock and the Sullivans were giants in their native New England, and New England was true to the Union and the General from the day the first shot was fired at Bunker's Hill until Cornwallis laid down his arms at Yorktown and until Greene a year after had subdued the Southern States. There were Franklin and Jefferson and Patrick Henry and Robert Morris, Lynch and Carroll and Rutledge and Livingston and McKean and Clinton, men who did giant work as organizers of their respective States as Governors, men who by voice and pen in Senate and by pamphlet aided the General, spurred on the work of recruiting, collected ammunitions of war and begged and borrowed that the war might be pushed forward and their Independence asserted. The resources of the nation were sorely tried. To defray the expense of a standing army and keep up a local

militia soon exhausted the war chest, never very full. Paper bills were issued to be paid for by cash at the end of three years. Merchants refused to sell their ware for the certificates, and thus these bills depreciated to an alarming extent. Before the end of the war they became practically useless in exchange. At this critical time it came to the ears of Congress, from a friendly source, that France would stand the friend of the American cause. They were not unmindful of the loss of Canada, nor had they forgiven their old rival who under Pitt had lowered their prestige by land and sea. Franklin in the autumn of 1776 was sent by Congress as a Commissioner to France to negotiate loans and purchase stores and arms in Paris for the army. Arthur Lee and Silas Deane were joined with this Leviathan among diplomats, now in his seventieth year, as American commissioners at the court of Louis of France. France received them graciously and their mission had promise of much success from many quarters. King Louis, however, was too timid and wary to openly espouse their cause. The old ministers of Versailles were unwilling to advise a rupture with England. The Canadian wars and the other operations in which they had lately been embroiled, had impoverished them and they were overtaxing themselves to keep up the credit of the nation. The young generation had more radical opinions than either the King or his advisers. Even some of the scions of the best families held republican ideas and were spurring on the King and his ministers to openly espouse the American cause. Hence we find the young Marquis De Lafayette asking permission, which the French Cabinet refused, to raise an army in the name of France and embark for service in the army of Washington. He did however buy a ship with his own private means and enlist volunteers, leave his young and beautiful wife, who by the way was a great favourite with Marie Antoinette, and against the wishes of his friends, sailed for the theatre of war, and soon after landing in the Southern States proceed to Phila-

delphia and afterwards present himself before Washington, where he gained the affection of the Chief and was raised by him to the rank of general. The part Lafayette played in the Revolution was most honourable and distinguished, and the prestige of his name was of no small account in the subsequent stages of the war and the weight of his influence and his influential friends did much to further the cause of America in France and at other European courts. Many other noblemen of distinction came over from Europe to fight in the army of liberty under Washington. Amongst the most distinguished of these was Thaddeus Kosciusko, an illustrious Polish patriot, born in 1746, a scion of an ancient and noble family. The cause of his own country having become hopeless, he with that other heroic Pole, Count Pulaski, set out from Paris to fight for American liberty. When Kosciusko presented himself before Washington he was asked what could he do. His answer savoured little of the mercenary. "I come," said he, "to fight as a volunteer for American liberty. Try me." The Commander appointed him one of his aides. Afterwards he was made Colonel of the Engineers and in this capacity rendered valuable help at Saratoga. It was he that engineered the fortifications at West Point on the banks of the Hudson, a fortress that the English General Clinton was prepared to pay the infamous Arnold £10,000 for betraying. A monument stands to his memory at this fortress, erected by the grateful American nation. When the American cause had triumphed he returned to his native Poland and became Commander of the national forces in the insurrection against Russia. When his army was overcome in 1794 he was taken prisoner and held in captivity until the death of Catherine II. The successor of Catherine, Paul II., released him, and the year Washington ceased to be President of the Republic saw him revisiting the scenes of his former campaigns in America. Congress honoured him and presented him with a handsome gift for his services in their cause. For a time

he lived at Fontainebleau, cultivating his farm; later he passed into Switzerland to end his honoured days in peace. He died at the age of seventy-one years as the result of a fall from his horse. He was a brave soldier and a sterling patriot and tried and true friend of liberty. Many other soldiers of distinction and great name entered the ranks after the first and second years of the war. Baron De Kalb and Baron Steuben, both distinguished soldiers, were honoured with commands in the American ranks, and in several engagements displayed much fearless valour. The former fell at Camden literally riddled with wounds, having made a hopeless stand after the pusillanimous Gates had taken flight at the head of his routed troops. He was almost seventy years old when he joined the American cause, an Alsatian by birth, who had given long and useful service to his native France, both as a soldier and an administrator in the army under the Duc de Choiseul. This old veteran has left on record his opinion of Washington and Congress. "General Washington is the most valiant and upright of men. All the abuses in the American army are attributable to the meddling of Congress, nor had he any hope of improvement except through the vigorous interposition of the Commander-in-Chief." One abuse this old soldier, who fought through the Seven Years' Wars, noticed in the war. "It was not uncommon," said he, "to find an officer at the moment of an engagement quitting his regiment and remaining away in a neighbouring town or a tavern hard by until the affair was ended." Many such officers helped to swell the chorus of faction against the Commander, known as the "Conway Cabal." Steuben became, shortly after his arrival in Washington's camp, Inspector-General of the Army, a position which General Conway, a Hibernico-French soldier of fortune, held before him. The Baron was an early riser, strict disciplinarian and a hard worker. He made marvellous changes in the ranks amongst both officers and men, and before he was many months in his new post

had infused a military air in manœuvring and precision in manual exercise and marching that was unknown hitherto in the American ranks.

Those soldiers of fortune who came in large numbers from Europe, chiefly recommended by the French Minister of War, some by Mr. Deane, American Commissioner at Paris, and some with letters of passport to Congress and the Commander-in-Chief from Franklin, were in many instances a cause of embarrassment to the General. "They seldom," says Washington, "bring more than a commission and a passport which we know may belong to a bad as well as a good officer. Their ignorance of our language and their inability to recruit men are insurmountable obstacles to their being engrafted in our continental battalions, for our officers who have raised their men and have served through the war upon pay that has not hitherto borne their expenses would be disgusted if foreigners were put over their heads; and I assure you few or none of these gentlemen look lower than field officers' commissions." He then adds that some mode of disposing of them must be adopted, as many of the above class of men were kept in suspense unattached to any corps. Congress however in many instances sent at their own expense these volunteers back to their own country; it was thus they treated a number who accompanied Lafayette. Washington himself stuck out boldly against the intrusion of one Monsieur Ducondray, who had been told by Mr. Deane to expect the rank of Major-General to disgrace General Knox as head of the artillery. Of Knox Washington wrote to Congress at this time as follows: "A man of great military reading, sound judgment and clear perceptions. He has conducted the affairs of that department with honour to himself and advantage to the public, and will resign if anyone is put over him." From this protest made by Washington in the winter of 1777 Congress resolved that no commissions to foreign officers should be considered as entitling their holders to be received in the

continental army until Washington should countersign and date them. It is not to be inferred from these protests against foisting soldiers of fortune from foreign parts and chiefly from Paris upon him that he was adverse to help from France. On the contrary, it was his studied aim to enlist the French and European powers on his side and he made many sacrifices to show the French troops how much he appreciated their land and sea assistance. In making harmony among his own troops and officers and the French officers he used tact and diplomacy and in all his endeavours to use all loyal helpers he was mutually aided by his life-long friend Lafayette. A graphic writer, the Marquis Costellux, who, during the campaigns before the end of the war, when on a visit to America, being hospitably entertained at headquarters by Washington, gives the following eulogistic impressions of him: "The goodness and benevolence which characterize him are felt by all around him, but the confidence he inspires is never familiar, it springs from profound esteem and a great opinion of his talents."

Speaking of his personal appearance he writes: "His form is noble and elevated, well-shaped and exactly proportioned; his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such that one does not speak in particular of any one trait, and that in quitting him there remains simply the recollection of a fine countenance. His air is neither grave nor familiar: one sees sometimes on his forehead the marks of thought, but never of inquietude, while inspiring respect he inspires confidence, and his smile is always that of benevolence. Above all," he adds, "it is interesting to see him in the midst of the general officers of his army. General in a Republic, he has not the imposing state of a Marshal of France, who gives the order; hero in a Republic, he excites a different sort of respect which seems to originate in this sole idea that the welfare of each individual is attached to his person. In fine, he is brave without temerity, laborious

without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity. He seems always to stop short of that limit when the virtues, assuming colours more vivid but more changeable and dubious, might be taken for defects." In concluding this chapter we might add that the Marquis was one of those liberty-loving French noblemen like Lafayette who aided the Commander-in-Chief materially towards the end of the war, one who wrote fluently and copiously later on the Revolution, and one who by his culture, social position and personal experience was a competent judge to pourtray our hero, because he was one of his most favoured acquaintances.

CHAPTER XIV.

HOWE SAILS FOR PHILADELPHIA.—BATTLES OF BRANDYWINE AND GERMANSTOWN.

HOWE's future objective was a mystery to Washington. He knew that the English General had two objects in view: one being to control the Hudson which commands the North, as well as the New England States; the other to secure Philadelphia, "The Rebel City," the capital of the country. To secure the first would have meant ruin to the American cause; to secure the Congressional city in Pennsylvania, where the new Government responsible for the conduct of the war sat, was an object which Howe ardently desired to accomplish. It was his policy in the spring and summer of 1777 to dodge, decoy, and deceive the American General and keep him perplexed as to what moves he really had in view. To reach the capital by land or sea, to sail up the Hudson, or reach Boston and form a junction with Burgoyne, were possible operations, and it required the constant vigilance,

prudent caution and alertness of the American commander to keep his army ready and equal for any of these emergencies. Upham in this connection remarks that "for months the British General was vainly playing off all the stratagems of war, provoking, alluring and endeavouring to blind his enemy. He resorted to the extremest measures, sometimes going through the operations of a pretended embarkment, sending decoy fleets to sea, and keeping them hovering around the coast and sometimes marching his army fifty or a hundred miles and then retreating, and all this kind of uncertainty lasted from the month of January until late in August."

After Sir William Howe found the game of drawing "the American fox" would not work and after the swift-footed Cornwallis failed to get behind the American army on the heights of Morristown, the British troops shipped their entire forces and baggage, with the exception of 4,000, who were left to co-operate towards Albany under Sir Henry Clinton and meet Burgoyne descending from the lakes. The same tactics of sailing backwards and forwards north and south after Howe and his 18,000 troops had left Staten Island was for some time continued. These tactics harassed the American general, and wearied and worried his troops. Every move by sea and land was constantly noted by Washington and he was compelled to hurry his army over long distances and bad roads with the prospect of checking the British, just when he had reached a certain point to find that the enemy was hundreds of miles in another direction. In winter such forced marches would have been severe, but in the sweltering sun of July it well nigh exhausted his army. We can see the immense advantage the British had in the conduct of this war, with their powerful fleet to protect them and transport them from point to point. Just as land marches became dangerous or their position perilous, the fleet was near to carry them out of danger and commence the attack at another point where the enemy was ill-prepared.

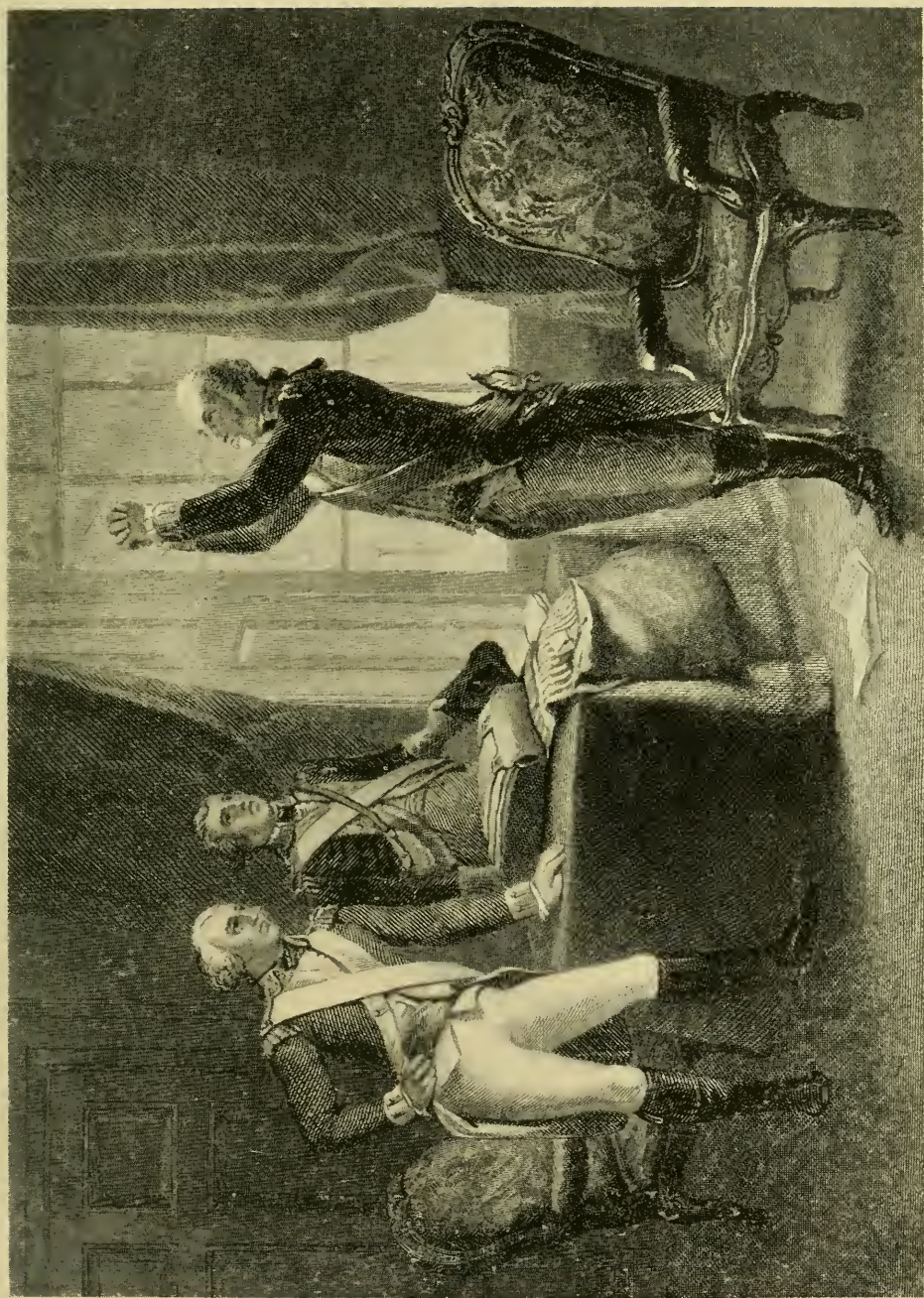
Soon, however, all suspense was set at rest. Howe had entered the Chesapeake Bay and was navigating from the coast up toward the Elk Forks. To navigate the Delaware was found impracticable and dangerous for the British fleet, owing to sunken obstacles in the river and fortifications on the banks. Hence Howe cruised down to the mouth of the Chesapeake with the intention of marching from Elkton on Philadelphia. It has been a matter of wonderment for almost three-quarters of a century why Howe took this course instead of keeping his forces together, joining with Burgoyne and saving so important an army from the New England hosts which overpowered it at Saratoga in October. The explanation was revealed by the discovery in the middle of the last century of letters in which General Lee, who was captured in the Jerseys in 1776, advised Howe to pursue the course he took, which course was contrary, as the letters disclose, to Howe's own plans. These letters also proved Lee to have been a traitor. In conjunction with them we need not wonder at his refusal to join Washington at Trenton, his refusal to lead at Monmouth, his shameless retreat without resistance; and Washington was justified in courtmartialling him and expelling him from an army into which he never should have been admitted.

Although Washington's main object with the forces under his immediate command was to keep in touch with Howe, still his care and supervision extended to every point where the enemy might attack; hence he was constantly appealing to the Governors of the States to keep up the militia corps and be prepared to call them into action at any moment. His scouts kept him in touch with the movements of the enemy and his own troops at other points. He knew that Burgoyne was coming down like a conquering hero and that the forts on Champlain and George had fallen before his British and Indian columns. He knew also that old Stack had given him the first rebuff at Bennington, where a thousand troops were routed and captured under the brave Baum,

It behoved Washington to meet the enemy at three points, and by so doing he left himself with an army less than half the size of Howe's. Some of his best Generals were in the Highlands of the Hudson to intercept Clinton, who was ascending that river to join Burgoyne at Albany in the autumn. Clinton was marching slowly but successfully and acting in a most cruel manner, burning and slaying unmercifully. Putnam was in command of the forces drafted off to intercept Clinton. Schuyler, Gates, Arnold, Morgan, and Stack were in command of the New England forces opposed to Burgoyne. The army of 8,000 commanded by Washington, and now at Brandywine Creek to oppose Howe as he marched towards Philadelphia, had for commanding officers Greene, the most distinguished of all the generals after the Commander-in-Chief, Sullivan, a brave New England soldier of Irish parentage, learned in the law, fearless as a soldier, ardent in the cause of freedom, and perhaps somewhat impetuous rather than prudent in carrying out his duty. Besides these there were the distinguished Lafayette and the heroic if rash Anthony Wayne, another brave Pennsylvanian Irishman, nicknamed "Mad Anthony Wayne."

It was thought by some that Howe, like Clinton and Burgoyne, would subject to his sway the country towards Philadelphia as he passed along, but as he delayed too long on the sea route he determined to march direct on the city and if necessary send help to the Northern Army as it approached Albany. Washington was determined to delay his approach to Philadelphia, and this he accomplished by giving him battle at Brandywine and Germanstown before he took complete possession of a prize which proved a curse instead of a blessing. In the meantime Saratoga had been fought and the fine army of 10,000 under Burgoyne made captive.

The battle of Brandywine was not favourable in its results to the American cause. Of course, the numbers were unequal, but Howe outgeneralled Washington. He parried



WASHINGTON READING A DESPATCH.

the attack of the American forces and kept up a sham cannonade with Wayne, who guarded the main ford over the Creek until Howe, with the principal part of his army, got round behind the American ranks by a circuitous route. Those were the tactics so successfully used on Long Island; the same tactics that Cornwallis employed on the Hudson when Washington fled across the Jerseys. With the British in front and rear it was cruel to blame the Generals for want of courage or generalship. Although Congress was inclined to place responsibility on Sullivan and Lafayette for the confusion of the troops and the heavy death-roll that ensued, T. B. Stanborn, a writer of note, makes these two generals the real heroes of the engagement. He says:

“ At the battle of Brandywine Sullivan commanded the right wing. At length both wings of the American line began to shake and recoil and finally broke. Sullivan strained every nerve to arrest their flight, but finding every effort vain joined the central division. With eight brave hearts around him he cheered them on by such noble words and nobler example that they for a long time withstood the onset of the entire British Army. The artillery ploughed through them with frightful havoc and the dead lay in heaps around. Yet there were Sullivan and Lafayette riding through the fire in this unequal contest. The determined manner in which they fought may be seen from the heavy loss on both sides. The British reported nearly 600 in killed and wounded on their side, whilst the Americans had about 1,000 to be accounted for in killed, wounded and prisoners.”

In this battle Sir William Howe's scheme of attack was well planned and well executed. The front and rear attack proved confusing to the American General, and all that Greene and Washington could do to sustain the flying rawlevies did not save the army from defeat and retreat in disorder. Howe camped on the ground secured by the victory and Washington reached Philadelphia without being pursued. The American forces retreated in good order, were not

dispirited, and were not adverse to meet once more the superior forces of Howe on the first opportune moment.

Cornwallis was soon on the march towards Philadelphia, and on his approach Washington thought it the most prudent course to evacuate the city. His army was weary and ill-prepared for a frontal attack on the enemy, and hence he betook his forces to Lancaster, some distance from the city, that he might refresh his troops and devise plans for the future.

An extract from one of Washington's messages to Congress at this time will explain the action of the General. "Our condition is deplorable for want of shoes. At least one thousand of our men are barefooted and have performed the marches in that condition." The army of the American Commander was numerically little inferior to those under Howe at Germanstown, but besides the want of shoes and blankets and other camping requisites many of them had no arms, and thus were more an impediment than an advantage for assisting in an effective engagement.

From Germanstown Howe despatched some of his force to remove the obstructions and forts on the Delaware. Forts Mercer and Mifflin and some floating batteries judiciously placed were impediments to the free navigation of this river, and these the English General had determined to remove. Whilst engaged in this operation Washington saw a favourable opportunity of making an attack on Germanstown. Accordingly he divided his forces into four divisions and marched them all night, and by this well-ordered surprise onslaught the enemy were thrown into great confusion. Victory was in sight for the American General when Colonel Musgrave, a British officer, threw himself with six companies into a large building known as the "Chew House," which, in accordance with the well-established rule of warfare—not to leave an enemy fortified in the rear—Washington stopped in his victorious march to raze to the ground, with the consequence that the enemy got time to rally. The British

in their turn now became the assailants, and as a fog was fast falling confusion soon entered the American ranks, and in the *melee* the ill-disciplined troops of Washington mistook their friends for the enemy. The result was disastrous to America. Almost 1,200 were lost in killed, wounded and prisoners, whilst the English losses were not more than half that number. Howe was less successful in his attacks on the forts; only after much resistance and a loss of four hundred men did he succeed in capturing them. The Americans had only a few missing on their side. The capture of these forts and the removal of the obstructions left Howe a free passage from Philadelphia to the sea; he betook his entire forces to the "Rebel City," whilst Washington retreated up the mountains to Valley Forge, some twenty-six miles above Philadelphia, to winter quarters.

It is worthy of note that although the war lasted until the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown, four years after the battle at Germanstown, and that it was not entirely concluded until Greene subdued the British in the Carolinas some months afterwards, yet the army under Washington's immediate command was never again seriously attacked by the enemy. Congress in manly terms voted thanks to Washington for his courageous attack after he had been driven from the capital,* and Frederic of Prussia, who himself had been twice driven out of Berlin during the Seven Years' War, said that the independence of America was safe in the hands of a commander possessed of such tenacity and energy as the battle of Germanstown revealed.

CHAPTER XV.

WAR IN THE SOUTH AND THE FRANCO-SPANISH ALLIANCE.

WHILST Howe was on his way to Philadelphia the British Army under Burgoyne, some ten thousand strong, was passing through a trying experience in the North. The plan of warfare mapped out was rendered inoperative owing to the slowness of Howe in reaching the capital, the arrangement having been that he should have reached there in time to send off reinforcements from his ponderous force to aid Burgoyne in making a passage from the Canadian shores to meet Sir Henry Clinton at Albany on the Hudson. Clinton, Burgoyne and Howe were in fact each too slow in their movements. The northern general was much impeded by baggage and greatly obstructed by Schuyler, who laid every obstacle in his way that genius could devise and that a willing militia could execute. The farther Burgoyne progressed South the farther he was removing from his base of supplies, and the New York and New England States were poor recruiting grounds and worse foraging centres for the enemy. Clinton was more successful in his march up the Hudson, but his success was an isolated success. He came too late to be of any avail to prevent the capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga on the 17th October, 1777. A detailed account is elsewhere given of the capture at Saratoga, and it will be enough to merely add here a short extract from "Washington to Roosevelt," which summarises the importance of that event:

"The capitulation of Saratoga, the loss of this fine army and all their baggage was a momentous event and might truly be said to be the turning point in the War of Independence. It roused the spirit of the country to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and patriotism. It struck a note of terror into

the British Army in America and into the British nation and Cabinet in England. It quieted the Tories in the colonies and roused the hopes of the patriots."

We need not recount the effects this victory had on Washington personally as Commander-in-Chief. The enemies of the general were not idle after the success of General Gates. The Conway Cabal was making itself felt about this time, and its factionist abettors in the army and Congress clamoured more or less openly for a change of leader in the army. The vain and over-rated hero of Saratoga was the idol that the Cabal held up as a fit substitute for Washington. We saw how the above faction received its quietus from the almost superhuman patience and magnanimity of Washington himself and from the unanimous rejection of the spurious Gates by all true and patriotic men in army and Senate and over the thirteen States.

The beneficent effects of the success of the Northern Army were soon felt and proved the main force behind the Commissioners in Paris in their endeavours for the past year to bring about an alliance with France. The French Alliance, which was ratified in the spring of 1778, might be said to be the crowning point of Franklin's unrivalled diplomacy. We saw how his tact and popularity and advocacy were instrumental in inducing France to send secretly to the Americans much aid in money, ammunition and clothing, as well as cruising frigates. The capture of Burgoyne pointed out to the French nation that Americans were fighting England with success. To assist openly in the defeat of their ancient rival, the French nation willingly, after a year's parleying the question with Franklin, entered into an alliance with the United States, and by the wording of the treaty agreed to send over forthwith "4,000 men to aid the army of Washington." This decision of France and the formal notification of the French Alliance by the Marquis de Noailles to the British Cabinet not alone exasperated the King and his Ministers, but shifted the central point of interest from

American soil. But our concern is still with Washington as responsible agent for the success of the revolution in America.

The British Cabinet after the French Ambassador had notified them of the Alliance and after the storm of indignation had subsided, conceived the most amicable designs towards the American rebels. The tide of British enmity was now turned towards France and Spain, the Bourbon enemy. If with honour the war in America could have been dropped, Lord North would have ordered home his generals. But Fox and Hartley would not let the matter rest; they insisted on knowing England's ultimatum regarding America. These latter ministers led a strong party in the House who were opposed to the war. In the Speech from the Throne, November, 1778, His Majesty said: "It would have afforded him very great pleasure to have informed the House that the conciliatory measures planned by the wisdom and temper of Parliament had taken the desired effect and brought the troubles in North America to a happy conclusion." The conciliatory measure referred to was the expedition of Commissioners with the versatile and erudite Lord Carlisle at their head, who had fruitlessly attempted to placate the colonies and call them back to allegiance to the Crown and grant them every liberty and more bounteous privileges than hitherto short of independence. We need not remind our readers that the Commissioners on their return to England gave a most misleading account of affairs in America. Their report was dressed up for consumption to keep alive the war party's fervour, to delude the nation to please the headstrong Sovereign and his subservient ministers.

Whilst Parliament was deceiving the nation at home by speeches and proclamations, Sir Henry Clinton now returned to New York, was shipping South a large force to subjugate the Southern States of the Union. In these States to the south of Virginia a large loyal population existed, and should a treaty of peace soon be brought about between England and America, it would be important that those Southern

districts from Florida to Virginia should be in the possession of the British at the cessation of hostilities. It was for the object of confining the Americans east of the Alleghanny Mountains that Hamilton, the Canadian Governor at Detroit and Vincenne, across the Ohio, was pushing back the Greenmountmen of Kentucky and the borders, and in our narrative of Colonel George Clarke in "Washington to Roosevelt" we saw how he was thwarted and his forces compelled to retreat towards the Lakes. It proved a more difficult and more protracted operation to repel the British from the South and subdue the strong Loyalist opposition in Georgia and the Carolinas.

The South was ill-prepared for an invasion such as Clinton carried out against it. They had not fortified their territory as did the New England States early in the war. They were further removed from the seat of war hitherto and hence less enthusiastic in their loyal co-operation in men and money when called upon by Congress. The New York expedition, 3,000 strong, under Colonel Campbell, with the 2,000 loyalists who joined him on arrival, had little trouble subduing Georgia, seizing Savannah and defeating the American General Howe that Washington had placed in command to protect those Southern districts.

After Georgia had yielded to the superior British forces the war was prosecuted with like success in North Carolina, and great slaughter on both sides resulted. Volunteers on the American side met in deadly combat their Loyalist neighbours in the ranks of the British troops. As hostilities proceeded the state of the country became desperate. Caldwell in his history of these days remarks: "When parties of Whigs and Tories met in civil contest they seemed to fight like devils not so much for victory as for extermination. This was the case in small partisan affairs which from the nature of the contest were more numerous in the Southern than in the Northern States. Another circumstance added much to the bloodshed and desolation of the times was that

the population of these States was more equally divided than elsewhere into Loyalists and Sons of Liberty, or as they were commonly called, Whigs and Tories. From this were engendered in their most terrific form that mutual animosity and deadly hate which always characterise civil wars and usually convert them into systematized scenes of assassination and rapine."

This spirit of hate and revenge among the Whig and Tory colonials would seem to have a parallel in the thirst for the blood of the white men which the Red Indians cherished prior to the war, as the following extract from a Red Chief's speech discloses: "I shall go to war to revenge the death of my brothers. I shall kill, I shall exterminate, I shall devour their heart, dry their flesh, drink their blood; I shall tear off their flesh from their scalp, and I shall make cups of their skulls."—Robertson's "History of America," Bk. I., p. 361.

From the year 1778 until 1782 the war raged fitfully in the South, and those regions were destined to endure dreadful trials, in burning of houses and property, and in the savage butcheries that followed in the train of the British army in the war in those places where they could be cruel with impunity.

As soon as Washington learned the object of Campbell's expedition South he despatched General Lincoln—who did such effective work against the Northern forces—with 1,400 regulars to be recruited *en route* by militia from Virginia and North Carolina to oppose him, to unite with General Howe and at the same time assume command of the entire continental forces in those Southern States. Lincoln was delayed longer than he should have been in his march, and before he arrived at his destination Georgia and part of the Carolinas were in the hands of the British. Soon after Lincoln assumed command of the Southern army he successfully encountered the British troops, compelled them to abandon Augustine and pushed them before him as far as Savannah, where the British General prepared to make a

stand inside the entrenchments which had been hurriedly thrown up. On the 1st September the French fleet arrived opposite Savannah under Count D'Estaing, who had just succeeded in gaining a signal victory at sea against the British fleet at Granada. This same French Admiral just a year previously had severely taxed the patience of the American generals at Newport in the New England States by refusing to co-operate by sea with some 6,000 American troops, under Sullivan on land, and by their united exertions expel the British from Newport, where they were in great force. D'Estaing was anxious to conciliate the wounded feelings of the American allies and was determined to make reparation by aiding Lincoln in capturing Savannah. D'Estaing imperiously summoned Governor Prevost to surrender the garrison in the name of the King of France. Prevost, having been reinforced by a large contingent of troops, set the besiegers at defiance. The allies by sea and land commenced to vigorously storm the well-guarded trenches. The French Admiral and the American general, each in person, headed their respective forces in an assault; but so stubbornly did the British withstand their attack that the allies were forced to abandon the siege. Many brave officers and men were killed on both sides, and on the American side the brave Count Pulaski lay dead. Thus for a second time the French fleet proved ineffectual to dislodge the British strongly entrenched on the seaboard.

For some time after the siege of Savannah the war seemed to lie dormant. The British had no other desire than to hold their fortified positions and harass the people from their safe encampments. The aim of the British, as openly avowed at this time by their military chiefs, was to burn, plunder and destroy as wide an area of the country as possible and thus render the colonies of little value to the victors. They carried away slaves to the number of 4,000 and sold them in the West Indies at fifty-six dollars per head. They pillaged every house, robbed the better class of their jewels

and ornaments, and in their raids treated the inhabitants with inhuman barbarity. They burned the churches of every creed and class as pagans might have done. This war of pillage and desolation was carried on by frigates along the seaboard from New England to Florida. When the desecrators had pillaged and laid desolate whole districts, and when old and young were fleeing in every direction from fear, it was not uncommon to find the butchers of children and women issuing a proclamation calling on them to return to allegiance to the British Crown. The answer everywhere to those appeals from the enemy was to hurl back their insult with a defiant "Never!" Mrs. Warren in her account of the rise and progress and termination of the American War, says of these harrowing scenes: "That wanton outrage was committed by the cruel Tryon of New York and his troops on the fair sex; even the best families, some of whom had shown civilities to the enemy, were shamefully treated, their houses rifled, and their persons abused. Many fled in terror to the woods and swamps when they saw the faggot of the incendiaries approach their homes. The mother was separated from the infant at the breast at the point of the bayonet; all appeals or entreaties for mercy were vain and hopeless when the pirate band of Royalists and Hessians, led by General Tryon, came upon the scene in their hellish work of destruction and carnage." Irishmen are not to be surprised at the above account of cruelty when they remember Cromwell's wars in Ireland, and they can see a typical successor of Clinton and Tryon in Lake of "Ninety-Eight" fame in the Irish rebellion.

When France entered into alliance with America she left the way open for Spain to follow. The two nations were ruled by scions of the great Bourbon line; they were both in league to keep Great Britain in subjection. France was fast becoming democratic, but the proud conservative Spaniard dreaded a Republican alliance. It was feared that ideas of too liberal a tendency might be fostered by contact with such

democratic sons of liberty as the Americans were supposed to be. Spain, too, feared for her American possessions lest they by influence of the States might in time to come rebel against the mother country. At last, however, she offered her aid on condition that the Mississippi waters and the Floridas should be under her control. The conditions also stipulated that France should have the fishing rights of Newfoundland, and that America should be satisfied with a tacit recognition of Independence from England. The Americans were not prepared to purchase a Spanish alliance so dearly; Virginia would not give up her claim on the "Father of Waters," nor would Massachusetts cede her right to fish in the Newfoundland seas. Nor were the States after so much waste of men and capital prepared to stop short of formal and complete Independence. Spain at length signed the Franco-American Alliance on condition that Florida should be her property and the other matters raised be left suspended till the end of the war. Spain withdrew her Minister from London on pretence that England would not accept her as a mediator of peace on the condition of complete American Independence, and forthwith she prepared her fleet to oppose England, an army being raised at the same time along the Mississippi to invade Florida. It thus happened that Spain did not long remain inactive after joining the alliance. In conjunction with France she made an ineffectual attempt to land troops on the English coast, and threatened Gibraltar. The French were not less active and certainly they were more successful against England than Spain. They opposed the British fleet in African and Indian waters, captured Senegal, St. Vincent and Granada, which possessions they hold to this present day.

There is no doubt that the fleets of the allied Powers were of incalculable advantage to the American cause at this time, although as yet the war on land had all been sustained by the Americans themselves. Still it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the French cruisers in keeping

in check the frigates and pirates in the British service. The friendly fleets kept at bay the aggressiveness of the British Navy and gave not alone support but security to the ill-equipped fleet which the Americans had on the seas to protect her merchantmen and harbours. It cannot be overestimated the aid also which the army under Washington received from the volunteer seafaring privateers during the first three years of the war. It is approximated that almost 70,000 New England patriots were engaged from time to time in the cause of freedom, and that these brave sea warriors captured hundreds of cargoes of powder, provisions and other army supplies from the English boats, and by their action on the sea turned the London merchants into bitter enemies of the party for war in England.

CHAPTER XVI.

WASHINGTON'S DIFFICULTIES IN '79.

SOME aspects of our hero's history at this period have been fully dealt with in the sketch published under the title of "Washington to Roosevelt," and these must be briefly passed over here. The winter of '78 up in the mountains twenty-six miles above Philadelphia was a dismal one, and the sufferings of those months were equal to any trials of any army recorded in history. Leaving the reader to follow in the volume referred to the army under Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded General Howe, in its retreat to New York, and to trace therein the details of the battle of Monmouth *en route*, where General Lee proved himself a soldier of fortune in truth and got courtmartialled for his disloyalty to Washington, let us accompany the General and his army during the more or less uneventful and dreary years from 1779 until the capture of Yorktown.

Although Washington could effect little during the year 1779, yet he was constantly on the alert. He was by no means strong enough in his camp at Morristown to attempt the expulsion of Clinton from New York, where he was strongly guarded and well reinforced. In fact, the army and the finances of America were both at this time in a most critical condition, and to add to the difficulty of his situation Congress was in a turmoil of unrest, faction was rife among many, and the best patriots were not among the number of those who were advisers and legislators. It had not been so from the beginning. It was well for the cause of liberty that Washington was trusted by both army and nation, and that his wise counsel, prudence and statesmanlike advice had a moderating as well as a regulating effect on the incompetent counsellors of the nation.

Instance the absurd proposal that the forces of the Republic so necessary and even inefficient for defensive and offensive warfare in the States, should be sent off, as they advised, on a wild-goose chase to conquer Canada. Washington on being confronted with this appeared before Congress in person and argued the impracticability of carrying out the project, considering the fact that the enemy were in strong force in the States, that the means at his disposal were inadequate, that to winter in the Northern regions might bring about the dispersion of their entire forces

The apathy of the States in obeying the orders of Congress was another cause of anxiety to the General. He reminds Congress as responsible head of the States, that unless ways and means were adopted without delay he could not for long keep the army together. At this time Washington was as busy as it was possible for one man to be; he was writing to Congress, to Governors of States, to his generals at their stations, and to a host of other correspondents. Every channel was tapped by him to aid his army and further the cause of liberty. We find him writing to one of his generals as follows: "Nothing I am convinced

but the depreciation of our currency, proceeding in a great measure from speculation and peculation, engrossing and forestalling, by those devoid of patriotic instincts, and at the same time our own party dissensions, has fed the enemy and kept the arms of Britain in America until now." " Shall," he adds, " a few designing men, for their own aggrandizement and to gratify their own avarice, upset the goodly fabric we have been rearing at the expense of so much time and blood and treasure?" " Our cause," he adds, " is noble; let our legislators enforce laws to check the avaricious." We can see here a note struck by Washington a hundred and fifty years ago that the present rulers of Greater America are determined to enforce and so preserve their great nation from corruption and decline. " Let us not sleep," he says, " but let us devise ways and means to improve our credit and raise the value of our currency. Everything now depends upon our credit. Let us punish *speculators* and *extortioners*. Let us promote public and private economy, encourage manufactures. Measures like these taken up by each State will strike at the root of all our misfortunes and enable us to give the *coup de grace* to British hopes of subjugation." From the above extracts we can see that Washington had absolute faith in the resources of the nation to supply the men and means to conquer, but some further extracts from his correspondence will show how low, notwithstanding, was the state of the army in January, 1780.

From his Headquarters at Morristown, in New Jersey, he writes to the magistrates of same State as follows: " Gentlemen, the present situation of the army with respect to provisions is the most distressing of any we have experienced since the beginning of the war. For a fortnight past the troops, both officers and men, have been almost perishing for want. They have alternately been without bread or meat the whole time, with a very scanty allowance of either and frequently without both. They have borne their sufferings with patience. But they are now reduced to an extremity no

longer to be supported. Their distress has prompted them to seize provisions from the inhabitants, a course of conduct which would have been severely punished only for the extreme necessity of the case. The evil would increase and become intolerable to the people around if instant aid is not forthcoming."

The following communication to the President of Congress throws a lurid light on the financial crisis in the colonies in the later stages of the war. He says: "Without some new measure what funds could stand the present expenses of the army and what officers can bear the weight of the prices that every necessary article has now got to? A rat in the shape of a horse is not to be bought at this time for less than \$200, nor a saddle under \$30 or \$40. Boots can only be procured by paying \$20 per pair and shoes and other articles for use at a proportionate price. How under these circumstances is it possible for officers to stand this without an increase of pay, and how is it possible to advance their pay when flour is selling for from \$5 to \$15 per cwt., and hay for \$10 or \$15 per cwt., and beef and other essentials figure in like proportion? At present I may add that a waggon load of money will scarcely purchase a waggon load of provisions."

There was truly need of a remedy for all these misfortunes and woes, so fatal to the cause of his army, and of which Washington so justly complains. We shall see later that funds from Europe, and friends at home, came to the relief of the nation which might at this time in the war be truly said to be pining away and dying from financial stagnation and depreciation of the paper currency.

The alliance had an injurious effect on the efficiency of the army. The people consoled themselves that the allies would fight their battles and keep the English sufficiently employed, but the clear vision of Washington hugged none of those delusions. He may have diagnosed how fondly stubborn King George clung to the idea of subjugating his rebel colonies. He looked upon the lull in hostilities as a prelude

to greater exertions, and he was right. Hence he never ceased exhorting Congress and his countrymen to put all their agencies to work for the final tug-of-war, which he knew must come before Clinton sailed home with his army. History was against the idea that Britain would tamely submit to the dictation of the Bourbons and yield up America except by force. Washington never relaxed in his efforts to ensure harmony and union between the civil and military and industrial forces of his country. Congress, however, although it generally yielded to the superior mind of the Commander, was yet only by slow stages able to gather in the quota of men and money voted for the army, so that, for example, when the recruits should have been in camp from January preparing for the spring campaign, they generally did not arrive before March. To add to the disquietude, Silas Deane, the Ambassador at Versailles, had disagreed with his co-diplomats, Adams and Lee, and was called home, tried by Congress and dismissed, as was generally believed unjustly, and even Mr. Laurens, the President of Congress, was the central figure for much vituperation and public irritation.

Washington, ever above party disputes and recrimination, was kept busily engaged by pen and voice throwing oil on the troubled waters, reminding the despondent of their glorious achievements and chiding the indolent, the selfish, and the avaricious for their want of public spirit. He compares the affairs of the nation to the mechanism of a clock, each State representing some one or other of its smaller parts. He says: "What is the use of devoting all attention to the parts if all are not set and working in harmony?" "Where are our men of ability?" he enquires. "Why do they not come forth to save the country? Why sit down under our own vine and fig-tree and let our hitherto noble struggle end in ignominy?"

Britain was at this time filled with the idea that America was tired of the war, and that by prolonging it better terms

might be gained in the final treaty which should close it. Therefore she encouraged her generals to invade the colonies and to weary out the American army and nation.

The year 1779 was eventful for little further between the contending armies than slight excursions and captures, some burnings and much plunder from the people by the British troops. Washington's forces stormed Stony Point, surprised Paulus Hook and captured 800 men in the garrison. He also drove the enemy out of South Carolina, and we are aware how George Clarke and General Sullivan, with separate commands, gained signal success in the Western and North-western districts against the Canadians and their Red allies. We might add that the troops under Clinton accounted for the destruction of some seaport towns, such as New Haven, Fairfax and Norwalk, on the Sound. They also captured King's Ferry and everywhere where the invasion proved successful witnessed the same cruel scenes and the same abuse of women and helpless children.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE YEAR 1780.

ALTHOUGH Washington did not conduct the campaigns that were fought during this year in person he was nevertheless responsible for the conduct of the war in every corner of the Union. Hence we will follow Sir Henry Clinton's large force of four thousand troops from New York and see how they fought and conquered in the South against Generals Lincoln, Gates and Greene with much success during the year previous to the final siege at Yorktown. The vessels that conveyed these troops of Clinton's to Charleston, where the American forces under Lincoln were entrenched were unfortunate in their voyage. The wind and sea buffeted them unmercifully and many of the frigates were damaged

before they reached Savannah, where the Southern army of the enemy was stationed. The arrival of the Northern forces was soon followed by an energetic onslaught on Lincoln, and after a fierce and bloody struggle the American general was forced to surrender Charleston and his entire army to the British. Clinton drew up articles of capitulation to which Lincoln agreed. General Leslie was honoured with the duty of taking possession of this fine seaport, in the name of Great Britain, the American soldiers having piled their arms and surrendered themselves as prisoners of war. The number of Americans slain in action amounted to about one hundred and more than that number were wounded. The prisoners captured, including soldiers and citizens, were about 5,000, of which number about half were citizens, women and children. Here were concentrated some four hundred pieces of ordnance, some vessels, and a considerable quantity of stores, and these also fell into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton. The loss was a severe blow to the Sons of Liberty, and for a time it almost paralysed the Southern States and sent a thrill of fear and dismay through every State in the Union.

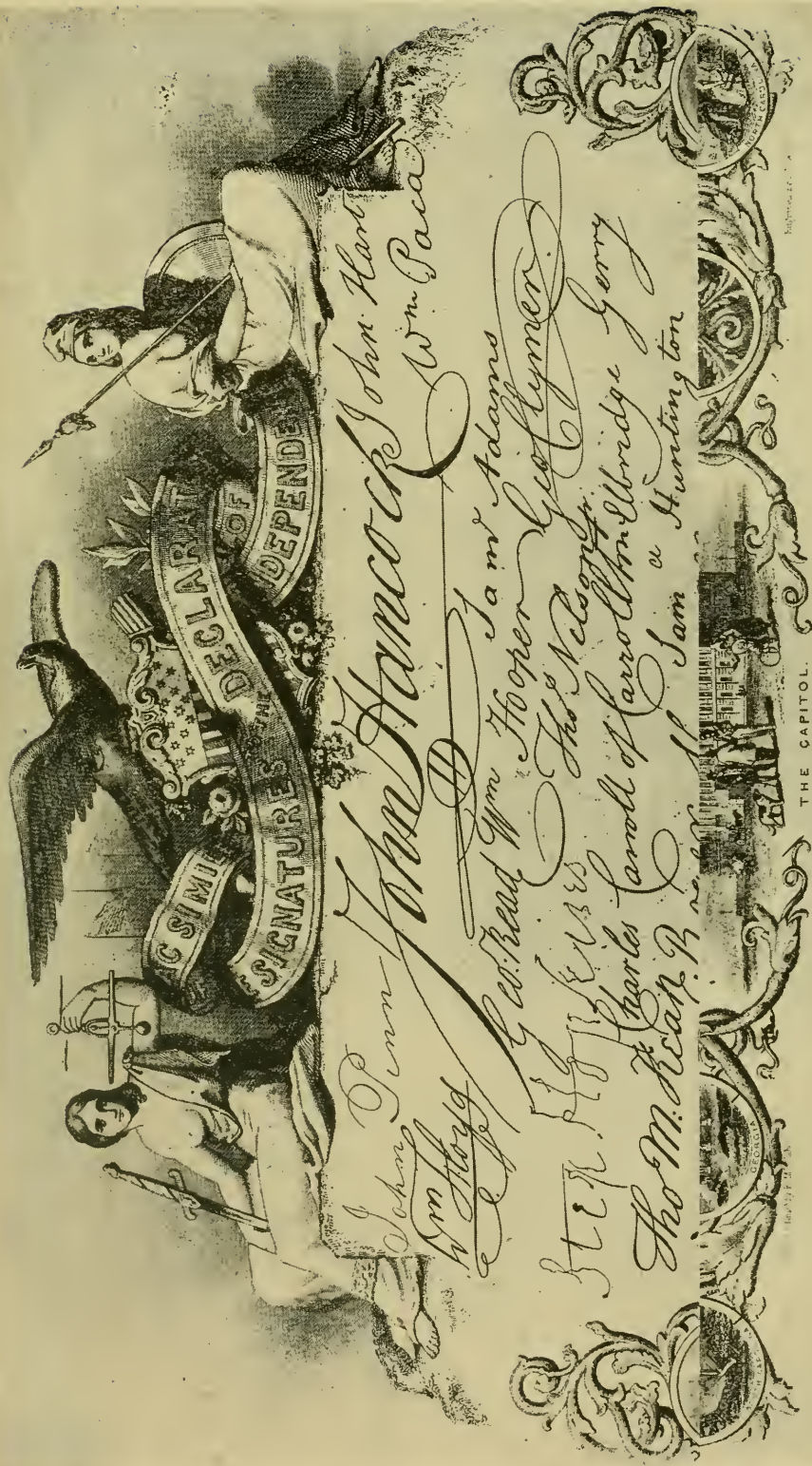
Much censure was at first cast upon General Lincoln. Censure is always the lot of defeated generals. Burgoyne was maligned, ostracized and disfranchised in London after his defeat at Saratoga. Sir William Howe was exposed on reaching England to public opprobrium from the war party in Parliament, and had, like Burgoyne, to defend himself before the Commons. We need not wonder that Lincoln was held up to the States as an incompetent officer when in reality the fall of Charleston was attributable to the apathy of the Southern States themselves in not calling out sufficient militia, and in neglecting to make suitable provision for a siege; and just as Burgoyne and Howe proved themselves not the most efficient and competent of generals, although all the blame was not theirs, so Lincoln may not have shown himself on this occasion all that a general of the first

rank should have been. Lee in his memoirs says "that so well established was the reputation of the vanquished general that he continued to enjoy the undiminished respect and confidence of Congress, of the army, and of the Commander-in-Chief."

Sir Henry Clinton, fearing the arrival of the allied forces, and also dreading that they would undo the work he had so successfully accomplished at Charleston, issued no less than three different proclamations to the inhabitants of the Southern States. In these manifestoes he called on the inhabitants to rally to his victorious standard. The Loyalists were ordered to march all their able-bodied men to join his ranks, and where family or property impeded their leaving home, a territorial militia was to be formed for local defence and all not in the royal ranks to be enrolled in the local militia corps. He called upon those who had hitherto been Whigs to swear allegiance to the British Crown, and in a most tyrannical and cowardly manner compelled them to turn their swords against their friends and country. He promised protection to all who should remain peaceful, but threatened that if again they dared to join the rebel ranks, and by the fortunes of war at some future time to fall into his hands as prisoners their punishment should be death. Finally he granted pardon to all except those who had shed the blood of their loyal neighbours. These cruel decrees had the desired effect for a time. Some through fear joined the ranks of Clinton and many betook themselves to the far West borders and joined the mountain rangers in the rebel service rather than fight against their former friends. Clinton when he had thus, as he thought, cowed into subjection the unprotected Southerners, sailed off to his headquarters at New York and placed the brave and honorable Lord Cornwallis in command of the South with 4,000 troops. When Washington in his quarters at Morristown learned of the defeat of Lincoln and the capture of the entire army in the South, he sent off without delay Gates, the hero of Saratoga, with

brave old Baron De Kalb and a strong force of regulars, to arouse the drooping spirits of the South, to rally and recruit the Virginians as he marched South. The army over which Gates was placed was ill provided with garments; they had no provisions with them, and on their march they were dependent on the charity of the districts *en route*, or on the plunder and foraging of the soldiers. Part of the journey was through a desert wilderness, and their chief diet was wild fruit, honey and Indian corn, often uncooked. The prestige of Gates acted powerfully on the spirits of the inhabitants as he hurriedly marched towards Camden. Before he came within range of the enemy his army was swelled to many thousands strong by the militia who marched to his standard. At Camden Cornwallis, of Jersey fame; Tarleton and Lord Rawden and Ferguson, generals of great daring and enterprise, were stationed, and here they determined to oppose the onward march of the feared and famed hero of Saratoga.

Gates had collected a force of 6,000 when he arrived at Camden early in the month of August, and among these some 2,000 were veterans. On the 6th of August, at 2 o'clock A.M., the two opposing armies, unaware of each other, met in a wood near the place from which the battle takes its name. The night was dark, and both generals agreed to defer the contest now inevitable until daybreak. Gates led the Virginian Militia in person and they were opposed to the well-sustained attack of Cornwallis. The result is soon told. The unskilled militia broke and fled in confusion after the first onslaught of the enemy, and they did not halt in their precipitate retreat until they had put twenty miles between them and Camden. The swift-footed troops of the enemy pursued them for several miles, and terrible was the loss of this large army, in dead and dying, who strewed the way along the route. Gates did not make a courageous stand. He rather led in the retreat than seriously attempted to rally the frightened militia. Before



To John Hancock John Hart
Wm Lloyd Wm Paca

Sam Adams
Edw. Broad Wm Hooper Geo. Lynen
Thos McLaughlin
Charles Carroll of Carroll Thos. Elbridge Gerry
Thos M. Heath P. M. Sam^r Huntington

THE CAPITOL.
WASHINGTON



John Penn John Hancock John Hart
Wm Lloyd Wm Parson

Edw. Reed Wm Hooper Saml Adams
Step. Hopkins Thos Nelson Geo Clymer

Charles Carroll of Carroll Wm Ellbridge Gerry
Thos M. Keap Roger Sherman Saml Huntington

Wm Whipple Thomas Lynch Junr
Geo Taylor Josiah Bartlett Ben Franklin

Wm Williams Richd Stockton John Morton
Oliver Wolcott Jas Witherspoon Gro. Ross

Thos Stone Samuel Chanin Robt Treat Paine
George Wythe Matthew Thornton

Frank Lewis Jr Jefferson Wm Harrison
Lewis Morris Abra Clark Phil Livingston

Wm Middleton Fra Hopkinson
Geo Walker Carver Braxton James Wilson

Richard Henry Lee Thos Weyward Junr
Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt Morris

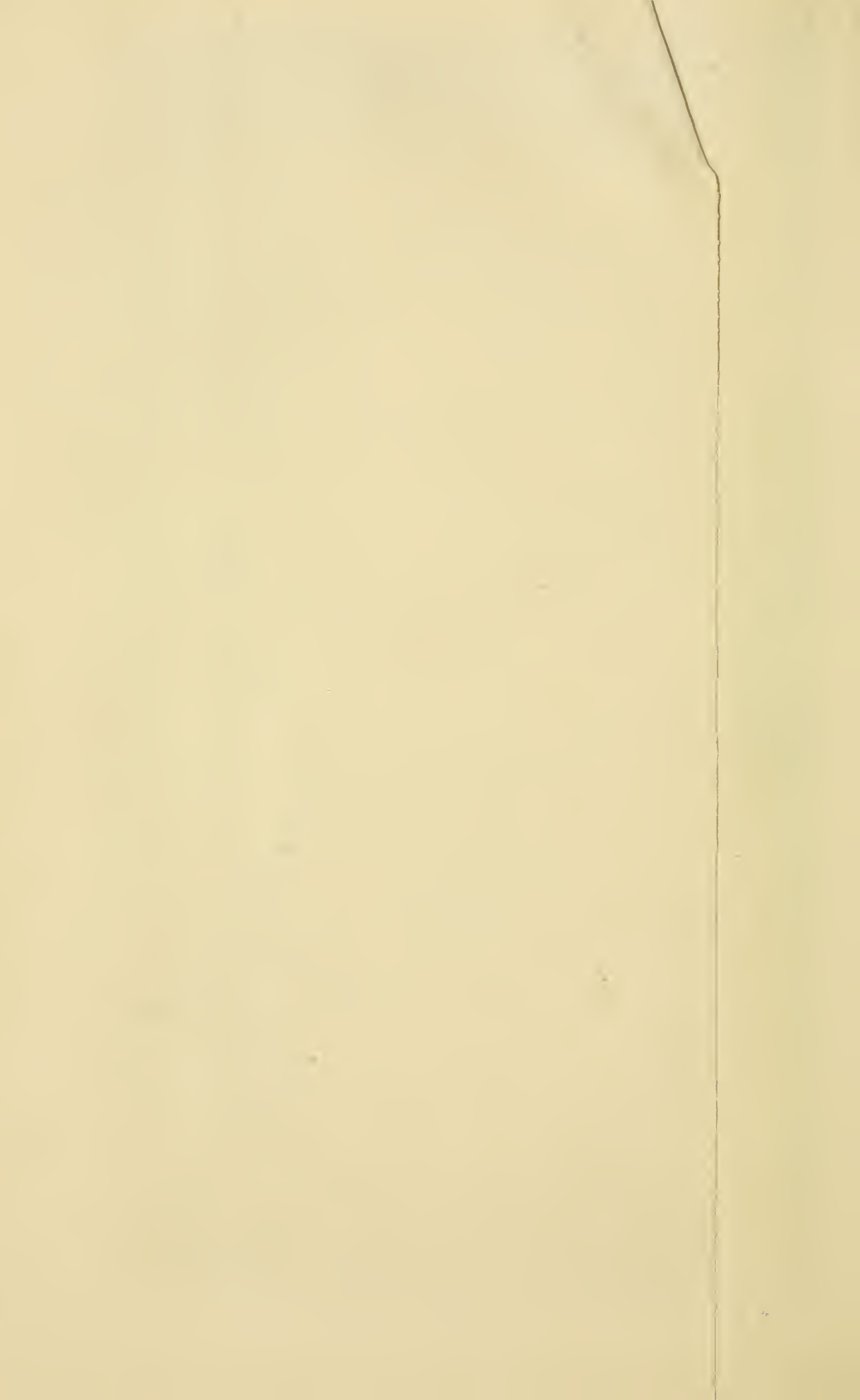
Lyman Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
Francis Lightfoot Lee

William Ellery Edward Rutledge Jas Smith
John Quincy Adams

"Department of State is" and I certify that this is a "CORRECT" copy of the original Declaration of Independence is deposited at this Department and that I have compared all the Signatures with those of the original and have found them EXACT IDENTICALS"



THE CAPITOL
WASH. D.C.



the sorrowful remnants of his army and himself halted in their rout they were fully sixty miles from the scene of their disaster and disgrace. The brave foreign officer, Baron De Kalb, surrounded by a band of regulars, stood to his guns, until he fell in front of the foe pierced by bullets in eleven different places. The Americans left about nine hundred dead or dying along the route from Camden, and about the same number were made prisoners by the enemy. The cannon and baggage, of course, were seized by the successful general. Thus was put a stop to the march of the conquering hero, and thus was closed the military career of Gates. He stood disgraced before the army and nation, and Washington, on learning of the disaster, sent off Nathaniel Greene, the favourite officer of the Commander-in-Chief, and the one who is most honoured among the renowned fighters of the Revolution after Washington himself. Gates was recalled, and on his way North was everywhere met with frowns. No eye beamed on him, no cordial welcome was extended, no tongue saluted him in accents of kindness. Silence and censure were his portion everywhere. All saw in him the defeated of Camden. None recognised in him the hero of Saratoga. There was, however, just one ray of sunshine for poor Gates as he marched off from Charlotte, where, on December the 2nd, he resigned his command to General Greene, for, as he passed through Richmond, in Virginia, the Assembly of the Old Dominion did a most gracious act towards the disgraced General. Lee, in his memoirs of the war, says that "Great and good men at that juncture governed in the State. Guided by the dictates of virtue and instructed by history and grateful for eminent services, they saw a wide difference between misfortune and criminality, and weighed the triumphs in the North against the disaster in the South. These fathers of the Commonwealth appointed a committee of their body to wait on the General, and to assure him of their high regard and esteem, to assure him that they remembered his former

glorious services and that reverses could never obliterate them." The answer of the fallen General was most dignified and expressive. "I shall remember," said he, "with the utmost gratitude the honour this day done me by the honourable House of Delegates of Virginia. When I engaged in the cause of liberty and of the United States I devoted myself entirely to the service of obtaining the great end of the Union. The having been once unfortunate is my great mortification; but let the events of my future service be what they may, they will, as they have always been, be directed by the most faithful integrity and animated by the purest zeal for the honour and interest of the United States."

Gates had now reached the end of his military career. He was tried by a military court and found guilty of incompetency and cowardice. Congress dismissed him from the service. It is generally admitted that Congress often blundered during the war, and the summary dismissal of Gates for one unfortunate disaster was on a par with their action before Saratoga in placing Gates over the patriotic Schuyler, who paved the way for victory and the capture of Burgoyne.

Greene, who now took up the command in the South, found on his arrival, on the 4th December, great apathy among the patriots and a correspondingly vigilant and powerful enemy determined to conquer. He found the Fabian Cornwallis, the cruel Ferguson, and the intrepid and light-footed Tarleton in command. To say that Greene had an army to lead would be to dignify the scattered remnants of a disbanded, half-clothed soldiery, without magazines, without means of sustenance, except the charity of the neighbourhood, and without apparent hope against a formidable foe. It is true Greene gathered together from the wreck of Camden 2,000 soldiers, but before they could decently engage in serious warfare it behoved the Commander to clothe them and equip them with baggage and war implements. No wonder at this critical period Washington was appealing with superhuman energy to Congress, the States, and all

patriotic Americans to come to the aid of the cause and help him to put new life into the nation and make a final rally for Independence. Should their French allies see apathy on the patriots' side a blow might be given to the cause that time could never heal. It would be a national disgrace should Frenchmen be asked to serve in the ranks with famished, naked and half-armed peasantry.

Lord Cornwallis did not remain idle after the defeat of Gates. He marched back to Charleston, the British headquarters in the South, and prepared his plans for final victory. Here he found Clinton's enforced service in force. Those who refused to join his ranks were severely punished. As soon as he had everything in readiness for marching North he led his troops in October into North Carolina with the object of subduing the country as he passed along and increasing his ranks by recruits from the Royalist population, which was numerous in this State. In his march towards Charlotte, the intended headquarters of the patriots, he sent in advance of the main force Tarleton and Ferguson, his two most daring officers, to capture the magazine and clear the way by dispersing the disaffected and rallying the loyal inhabitants to the British standard.

Ferguson in his recruiting raids soon found himself in collision with bands of backwoodsmen from Tennessee and Kentucky. It is needless to say that these "Big Knives," as the Indians named them, were bold, fearless and daring fighters. It is impossible to find them unprepared and equally difficult to overcome them. They were swift in action and deadly in their aim. Their rifle was their companion by night and by day. They were eagle-like in their swoop down from their forest or mountain fastness on the enemy. They carried few encumbrances by way of baggage. The Indian mode of facing the enemy was theirs. They fought from under cover, from the cover of trees or from high precipices or behind rocks. When they openly at-

tacked it was a wild Irish dash they made, an invincible onslaught, and back like a wild deer to their secure retreat.

These backwoodsmen made an attack in their own fashion on Ferguson, separated as he was from the main ranks, surprised him, slew the general and almost annihilated his troops in the bloody raid, 1,000 prisoners being taken.

The two leaders of these "Green Mountain Men" or frontier men, who stand out prominent in these Southern encounters against the British were Marion and Sumpter. Often during the final stages of the war, when the cause of liberty was hard pressed, these brave leaders, with their hardy mountain men, did giant service against the foe. Many a back-set they gave to the victorious Tarleton and many a Loyalist muster did they scatter. They were the invisible terror of the South. They were swift in assault and always attacking at the most opportune time and when least expected by the enemy. They carried their camps and baggage with them, and hence they could never be said to be cut off from their base.

Although these two brave mountain men were the terror of the South, yet their followers were few and their victories were only snatched. They could not hold a post, as they could not, either from lack of numbers or inability to make preparations, settle down for defensive operations. Hence it need not surprise that Cornwallis and Tarleton, before Greene had sufficiently organized his forces in the beginning of 1781, had practically seized all the strong positions in the South outside Virginia.

CHAPTER XVIII.

FINANCE TROUBLES.—THE DAUGHTERS OF LIBERTY.—
LAFAYETTE AND THE ARRIVAL OF COUNT DE
ROCHAMBEAU WITH FLEET.

WASHINGTON, as we saw, when the South was overrun by the enemy, was not unmindful of his duty towards those harassed States. Yet his chief concern was with the main forces of the enemy in and around New York. The American headquarters were at Middlebrook and the highlands along the Hudson, and from these secure outlooks he kept a vigilant eye upon the enemy. It was the ambition of the American General to end the war at New York, which some years before he had been forced to evacuate, by boldly surrounding and capturing Sir Henry Clinton's concentrated forces. But much strengthening of his resources was needed before he might essay such a difficult task. At present the army of America was hopelessly unfit for offensive operations. From the time that France entered into alliance with America there came a lull in the activity displayed by the army and Congress. From the year 1777 the continental troops had gained no decisive battles, nor had they improved their position as a fighting force either in the eyes of England or in the eyes of France. They had not impressed their restless and ambitious allies with their prowess in arms nor with zeal and enthusiasm in the cause of liberty. The main forces in the North-east were merely watching and waiting whilst the enemy were capturing town and country from the Union in the South. From Georgia to Virginia was practically in the hands of the enemy. Two large armies under two famed commanders had been captured and routed, viz., at Camden under Gates and at Charleston under Lincoln. The causes that led up to these disasters were mainly due to the apathy of the nation, the want of energy and power

in Congress, the scarcity of circulating medium or funds, and the ever-recurring drawback of short service enlistment. It is true that Congress was in great part powerless to remedy the financial difficulty, and without money soldiers won't serve, nor can an army subsist.

In this dark crisis in American affairs, when nearly every channel for replenishing the war chest was dried up, the patriotic " Daughters of Liberty " over the States boldly set to work to aid Congress and the General to supply the sinews of war and necessary supplies for the soldiers. A society of ladies was organized in Philadelphia under Mrs. Reid, wife of General Reid, to make garments for the army. The daughter of Franklin became one of the leading figures in this movement. Lafayette, in the name of his young wife, presented the society with a hundred guineas in specie, and the Countess de Luzerne, wife of another brave French General, and friend of Washington, also subscribed generously to the fund. Just as in the New England States prior to the war, the Daughters of Liberty sewed and spun and wove and made garments for their brothers and husbands and sweethearts in order to boycott the English trade, so now they united to forward the cause of liberty by denying themselves luxuries, and many of the finest ladies in the country sold their diamonds and gold ornaments and plate and begged and borrowed money to procure wool and linen to supply the defenders of their country, their honour, and their homes, with garments to cover their naked, shivering frames.

Twenty thousand shirts were thus forwarded to the army of Washington, and this action of the women of America had a most inspiring effect on the soldiers in the camp, and spurred both officers and men to renewed energy in the cause of Independence. How great a boon were not these supplies to the army, at a time when the soldiers were almost perishing from cold and the patience of their endurance drew from Washington a strong note recommending

them to the approbation and sympathies of their countrymen. To suffer was the lot of the soldiers of the revolution, and Washington Irving has truly recorded of the army at this time that the severest trials of the war were not in the field, where there were plaudits to cheer and laurels to be won, but in the squalid and ill-provided camps, where there was nothing to cheer their sufferings and misery.

When there came a lull in the activity of the enemy after the retreat of the British General and his army from Philadelphia to New York the young Lafayette thought the time opportune to visit his family in France, and whilst there he was not unmindful of the cause so dear to his heart. King Louis XVI. said of him he was so importunate in his solicitations for men and money for America that he could refuse him nothing. As a result of his visit, which came to an end in 1780, large supplies of stores and magazines were shipped for America, and about the first week in July Count de Rochambeau reached America with troops to the number of five or six thousand, with a large train of artillery. Washington was to retain chief control of both French and American forces; the French officers of equal rank were to take precedence of the American officers, but army and officers were to take their places and projects and general orders from Washington, the Commander-in-Chief.

The generous instruction given by King Louis to his generals shows how earnestly he desired his troops to co-operate on friendly relations with the American allies. He was aware of the rankling feelings that possessed the French soldiers after the capture of Quebec and the loss of Canada, and Washington could not forget how near they were to a rupture at Newport, where D'Estaing refused to co-operate with General Sullivan to expel the British troops from the New England seaport the previous year. Washington was determined that no cause for rupture or jealousy should occur with this fresh contingent from their allies the French, and hence he takes the earliest opportunity to welcome the

Count to America. The letter here subjoined will show the versatility of Washington and how he was neither deficient in diplomacy nor that etiquette even in small details so suitable to the susceptible nature of the Frenchman.

“ New Jersey, 16th July, 1780.

“ Sir,—I hasten to impart to you the happiness I feel at the welcome news of your arrival, and as well in the name of the American Army as my own to present you with an assurance of our warmest sentiments for allies who have so generously come to our aid. As a citizen of the United States and as a soldier in the cause of liberty, I thankfully acknowledge this new mark of friendship from His Most Christian Majesty, and I feel a most grateful sensibility for the flattering confidence he has been pleased to honour me with on this occasion.

“ Among the obligations we are under to your Prince I esteem it one of the first that he has made choice for the command of his troops of a gentleman whose high reputation and happy union of social qualities and military abilities promise me every public advantage and private satisfaction. I beg, sir, that you will be the interpreter of my sentiments to the gentlemen under your command. Be pleased to assure them that to the pleasure I anticipate of an acquaintance with them, I join the warmest desire to do everything that may be agreeable to them and to the soldiers under their command. But in the midst of a war the nature and difficulties of which are peculiar and uncommon I cannot flatter myself in any way to recompense the sacrifices they have made, but by giving them such opportunities in the field of glory as will enable them to display that gallantry and those talents which we shall always be happy to acknowledge with applause.

“ The Marquis de Lafayette has been by me desired from time to time to communicate such intelligence and make such propositions as circumstances dictated. As a general

officer I have the greatest confidence in him; as a friend he is perfectly acquainted with my sentiments and opinions. He knows all the circumstances of our army and the country at large. I request you will settle all arrangements whatsoever with him.

“ Impatiently awaiting the time when our operations will afford me the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with you, I have the honour to be, with the most perfect consideration,

“ Your most humble servant,

“ GEORGE WASHINGTON.”

It has been questioned by some whether the alliance with the French and Spanish house of Bourbon was a real advantage to America. It was not certainly through any love of those quondam British subjects, those sons of soldier fathers who fought from Duquesne to Quebec against the French in the reign of Louis XV., to enable England to hunt for ever the French from the West and to clip the power of Spain in North America. The Bourbons were not like that lover of liberty, Lafayette, or the other French nobles and soldiers schooled in the doctrines of the “ *Illuminati* ” of France and Prussia, who embraced the cause of the brave Americans struggling against great adversaries for freedom. No; the haughty French Bourbon and the proud Conservative Spanish Bourbon were each actuated by motives far removed from real love of a peasant army, three thousand miles across the Atlantic, in arms against the foster-parent of their race, the nation they a few years ago proudly called their home, the Motherland. Naturally the allies, led by aristocratic Generals, considered their infant allies novices in the use of arms, and undoubtedly the ulterior motive for the allies in their new-pledged love of republicanism was hate of England and hope that Canada, Florida, Louisiana and the fishing banks of Newfoundland might be their permanent heritage in the treaty scramble that would come about after England should be humbled by the triple powers leagued against her.

CHAPTER XIX.

A SURVEY OF AMERICAN DIFFICULTIES AND THEIR REMEDY.—
WINTER OF 1780 AND 1781.

YOUNG Lafayette was most impatient for an active forward campaign against the enemy after the arrival of the French forces. He sent to Washington a long list of arguments and reasons why the war should be pursued with vigour. First he argued that a little enterprise would please the people of the country and show them that when they had men sufficient they did not sulk in their tents. A defeat, he contended, would have better consequences on the patriotism of the nation than inaction, provided that they were not fatally routed. Secondly, he contended that the French Court had often complained to himself personally that the American Army, so successful before the alliance and distinguished for their spirit of enterprise, had now ceased its former activity, courted no risks, but was content to leave the allies to fight their battles. (In this latter assertion of the young enthusiast there was more than a semblance of truth.) He adds that "I well know the Court of Versailles, and were I to present myself there without being in a position to show some effective hostilities on the part of the American Army I would have little chance of sympathy or support." "Thirdly," he says, "England will probably before another winter call a truce and treat for peace, but will contend for sovereignty over you because they look upon you as already a half-conquered people."

Washington, who calculated the risk of an unprepared attack, even were he willing to grant the force of the Marquis's reasons, considered that the enemy were too strong for him to advise offensive warfare under present circumstances, and that for the time being the only course that prudence suggested was to watch and wait and prepare for

contingencies. "It is impossible," he wrote Lafayette, "to desire more ardently than I do to terminate the war by some happy stroke, but we must consult our means rather than our wishes, and not endeavour to better our affairs by attempting things which for want of success may make them worse. We are to lament that there has been a misapprehension of our circumstances in Europe, but in endeavouring to recover our reputation we should take care that we do not injure it more."

It must be remembered that Washington was entirely unprepared for action owing to a variety of well-known circumstances, but chiefly from deficiency in provisions for the troops and on account of the ever-recurring annual dropping out of part of the effective troops on the expiration of their term of service, as well as the defect in recruits from the different States. Again and again the Commander-in-Chief made his appeal to Congress, State Governors and Commissary-General for men, arms, magazines, clothing and provisions, and still his appeals were only partially successful in gaining the necessary results. During this period of stagnation he wrote a strong and candid account of the defects above referred to:—

"It is with pain," he said, "I inform Congress that we are reduced again to a situation of extremity for want of meat, and for some time past our allowance has been reduced to one-half, and one-fourth, and in some instances rations are reduced to one-eighth. The men and officers have hitherto borne these privations with remarkable fortitude. Some of the regiments, notably two of the Connecticut line, have mutineered, and with the point of the bayonet had to be put under discipline. The troops in the different camps around the Hudson are in great distress. They are sorely in need of shirts, boots and other garments, and the men are clamouring for pay. The paper money is valueless and henceforth specie alone must be advanced in payments."

In the following extract addressed to Congress at this time we may gauge the frame of mind of Washington. The cool courage, indomitable fortitude and far-seeing patriotism so noticeable in the character of Washington can be seen to advantage in those critical periods that tried the souls of all.

“To me,” he says, “it will appear miraculous if our affairs can be maintained much longer in their present condition. If either the temper or the resources of the country will not admit of an alteration we may expect soon to be reduced to the humiliating condition of seeing the cause of America in America upheld by foreign armies. The system of short enlistment has been pernicious beyond measure. All the misfortunes we have met in the previous years of the campaign can be traced to this cause. Had we in 1776 had a permanent army, the same men, trained and tried, to remain throughout the service, we should not have had to retreat across the Delaware and through the Jerseys; we should not have been at the mercy of the enemy at Brandywine and Valley Forge; nor should we have allowed the enemy to capture Philadelphia. We should not have been inactive around New York this spring (1781), nor should we have allowed the towns and villages of our country to be pillaged and burned and the inhabitants murdered with impunity. The enemy knows the position of our forces and our resources, and for this very reason they are protracting the war in the hope to weary us out and exhaust our resources.”

Not even when the cause was at its lowest ebb, on the memorable retreat across the Jerseys, did Washington feel so despondent as he did at this juncture. Now he went so far in his threats to the nation's representatives as to suggest the possibility he might be under of disbanding the army. When Cornwallis pressed him across the Delaware in 1776 he spurned the thought of disbanding and said he would if needs be take himself and his brave followers to the mountain passes, again to renew the attack when recruited; but

early in the war there was a spirit abroad of patriotic fire that after five years' fighting seemed dead or dormant. Again there were men of genius and patriotism in Congress at that time, but now few commanding personalities were amongst the factionist leaders in that assembly, whose duty it was to enthuse the nation and supply "the sinews of war." The thought of disbanding, however, was not a serious consideration with the General, but he used the expression rather by way of a spur to patriotic action in Congress. He adds: "If such an alternative should come to pass then truly would our cause be hopeless, then would we be at the mercy of a merciless foe (and no foe is more merciless than a successful sovereign against his rebel subjects), the derision of the world, and dishonourable towards our allies, who hoped to find us ready when they reached our shores to co-operate with them."

Washington's appeals to Congress were at last becoming effective. The efficiency of the army, both as to the numbers recruited and in regard to their remuneration, was successfully established. In bringing about this happy and long-delayed result Washington was ably seconded in his appeals to Congress and the States by the French Minister in America, who informed the representatives that His Most Christian Majesty was led to co-operate in the manner he did with the United States on the understanding that an equipped force of 25,000 fit troops, backed up by a State militia, and sufficient magazines in convenient depots over the Union would be supplied by the Americans for the entire troops, both continentals and allies. The united voices of two nations, through their respective Generals and representatives, so roused the United States that soon hope of a speedy and successful result sat upon the arms of the Americans and their allies. What the American General had been appealing for before he raised the siege of Boston was at last adopted—1st, the men were enlisted to serve for the rest of the war; 2nd, the soldiers after the war should

receive half pay for seven years, and non-commissioned officers should be allowed eighty dollars at the end of their service.

During the panic and crisis over the defects in the army arising from insufficient funds and national apathy, both in the individual and the ruling body, affairs in the army at certain points became alarming from insubordination arising from privations in pay and rations and clothing. Hitherto murmurs and grumblings may have arisen, but this undercurrent was soon allayed; it had never reached the point of insubordination to constituted authority, civil or military. The Pennsylvania regiments, some thirteen hundred men in all, hitherto, with their brave commanders, Wayne and Thompson, McKean and others, did giant service in the cause from the time they marched under their trusted Generals into the ranks at Boston. Now these men refused to obey orders from General Wayne and to a man rose in mutiny and turned out under arms. They appointed from their own ranks sergeants to lead them and under discipline of their own choice they marched out of camp in full fighting force carrying with them six cannons and their ammunition and never halted in their march until they reached Philadelphia, to which place they set out to place their grievances before Congress.

The mutineers set out on their journey on the 1st of January, 1781, and were determined to have justice done them by their country in whose service they had fought and suffered for so many years. General Wayne, whom they loved, was powerless to stop them in their mutiny. When he, in a commanding voice and with great wrath pointed his revolver at them as they passed along his ranks, they fixed their bayonets and pointing them at his breast said: "General, we love you, we respect you, but fire upon us and you are a dead man. We love liberty, but we cannot starve." Nothing would now allay their onward march, neither trials nor promises. When they had proceeded as

far on their route to Congress as Trenton they were met by emissaries from Clinton who offered them bribes to join the British Army. Their reply was to seize the English spies who thus tempted them and executed them before the whole army, saying: "We spurn your bribes; we will never become Arnolds to sell our country for British gold." Washington was justly alarmed at the action of the brave Pennsylvania soldiers. Congress did not turn a deaf ear to their petition backed up at the point of the bayonet. Soldiers and Congress entered into an amicable compromise, and then the entire body of mutineers marched back to camp on condition that those who had completed their term of enlistment should be allowed to disband, the others to finish their terms of enlistment with an increase in their pay, a supply of clothing, and a promise of better rations while in the service of Congress.

Shortly after the revolt in the Pennsylvania line the New Jersey regiments revolted. Their grievances were similar to those of Pennsylvania and common to the whole army. When Washington learned of this second mutiny he lost no time in taking strong and decisive action. Otherwise his authority in the army would be nullified and insubordination would become a daily spectacle. General Howe was ordered to proceed with a picked body of brave men to proceed by quick stages to the scene and in the name of the Commander-in-Chief to take such strong measures to restore order as the serious nature of the case demanded. Anything less by way of punishment than capital punishment for the ring-leaders would not suppress beyond doubt of repetition the damage to authority inflicted by such bold defiance of the civil and military authority. The example of Pennsylvania making terms with Congress with arms in their hands could not be tolerated a second time; hence General Howe's first action was to insist on unconditional surrender and then to satisfy the end of military justice and authority two of the more prominent promoters of the mutiny were paraded before

the ranks and shot in presence of the whole line. Thus ended the cases of insubordination in the ranks of the patriots until the army laid down their arms at the end of the Revolution. Congress and the individual States now truly seized with alarm at the serious aspect of affairs those two typical mutinies disclosed, set about in a most earnest manner to remedy the defects so often placed before them by Washington.

On a previous occasion we noticed the invaluable aid given to the army by the ladies of America. Let us supplement our reference to their devotion to the cause by a quotation from Chief Justice Marshall's "Life of Washington": "The conduct of the ladies of Philadelphia throughout the war," he writes, "was uniform in patriotic endeavour. They shared with cheerfulness and gaiety the privations and sufferings to which the distress of these times exposed their country. In every stage of this severe struggle they displayed virtues which have not always been attributed to their sex. With a ready acquiescence, with a firmness always cheerful and a constancy never lamenting the sacrifices which were made, they not only yielded up all the elegancies, delicacies and even conveniences to be furnished by wealth and commerce, relying on their own farms and produce of their own labour for every article of food and raiment, consenting to share without regret all their possessions with the soldiers in distress, even pinching themselves and their families for this end. With heroic fortitude they even parted with their brothers and husbands to give them as soldiers to their country in the war for liberty." During this crisis in the winter of '80 and '81 several patriotic individuals contributed largely from their private fortune, and the merchants of Philadelphia alone in specie raised a fund of \$315,000, only stipulating that they should be repaid at a reasonable time after the financial panic that called forth their patriotic zeal had vanished.

There was one big-hearted patriot whose munificence and disinterested zeal and great wealth, which he placed at the disposal of the nation, saved the American cause, when all seemed gloom for Washington and his suffering army. We refer to Robert Morris of Philadelphia. Morris freely parted with his immense wealth in order that the army might not lack in the necessaries for doing the nation's work. It often happened, when Washington had no other remedy to keep his army from perishing, that he applied to Robert Morris for pecuniary help, and always with the same liberal response.

Paper money had now become useless. Congress was almost powerless to supply the specie to the Commissary-General. We find Robert Morris coming on the scene and, by placing a million and a half dollars at the disposal of the nation for the war, lifting the drooping cause to a high plane of financial solvency.

We find him, moreover, supplying the soldiers with a shipload of clothing. He also established a bank on his own personal credit, and practically took upon himself, when the ebb in the national finances was lowest, the exchequer credit of Congress.

France was perhaps the most munificent of all the many agencies which came to the aid of America during the war. Benjamin Franklin was instrumental in negotiating many loans from the French King and nation during the war. It is computed that at different times during the seven or eight years Franklin acted as Commissioner at the Court of Versailles that he borrowed twenty-six million francs. In 1777 he borrowed two millions, in '79 he negotiated a loan of ten millions, and in '81, the year Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, he sent home to America for the conduct of the war six millions, and no doubt this latter loan had a powerful effect on the efficiency of the troops that forced the brave Cornwallis to yield to Washington.

It will be interesting to conclude the chapter on financial difficulties which as we see above were happily bridged over by a combination of fortunate circumstances and self-sacrifice, with a letter to Colonel John Laurens, Minister at Paris, written by Washington early in 1781, after the French fleet for a second time had proved unable to come to the aid of the hard-pressed land forces. This abortive action of the fleet that failed at Newport, in New England, to relieve Sullivan again failed at Chesapeake to storm Portsmouth and capture the traitor Arnold, who was in command in these parts of a British regiment, and who had been arrested in his burning and butchering raids in Virginia by Baron Steuben and the youthful Lafayette.

Washington felt much the failure to seize Arnold, because, as he said, the world was disappointed at not seeing Arnold in gibbets. He says in his letter: "It is impracticable to carry on the war without aid in money, which you were directed to solicit from France." "As an honest man," he says, "and as one whose all depends on the final and happy termination of the present contest, I assert this: while I give it decisively as my opinion that without a foreign loan our present force, which is but the remnant of an army, cannot be kept together this campaign, much less will it be increased and in readiness for another. If France delays a timely aid in this critical posture of our affairs it will avail us nothing should she attempt it hereafter. We are at this hour suspended in the balance, not from choice, but from hard and absolute necessity, and you may rely upon it that we are unable to transport the provisions from the States in which they are assessed to the army because we cannot pay the teamsters, who refuse to work for certificates. In a word, we are at the end of our tether, and now or never our deliverance must come. With a fleet active on the sea and an advance from France of money the ruin of the enemy in this country would follow. We could compel them to yield the territory they have gained during the past year and force

them to concentrate their force at capital points. Otherwise we would have them at our mercy everywhere."

The financial crisis was now happily adjusted, and the war from the spring of this year, '81, began to assume a new aspect. The victorious Cornwallis, step by step, was compelled to narrow his lines, call in his outposts, and finally entrench himself at the strong seaport of Yorktown, where he was entrapped.

The correspondence between Dr. Franklin, the great diplomat and negotiator in all these foreign transactions, and Count de Vergennes, the Foreign Secretary of Louis, will prove interesting reading in conjunction with above appeal from Washington. Franklin said: "I am grown old and feeble. I shall not long have any more concern in these affairs. I take the present occasion to express to your Excellency that our affairs are now in a critical stage (1781). Congress may lose control and influence over the people if it is unable to procure the necessary aid to carry on the war. Should the English again gain sway in America it may enable her to become the terror of Europe and to exercise that insolence with impunity which is so natural to their nation, and which will increase undoubtedly with increase of power."

Holland at this time joined the European League in favour of the Americans, and through the intervention of France she advanced a substantial sum towards the war fund.

CHAPTER XX.

RIVAL ADDRESSES ISSUED BY THE CONTENDING PARTIES TO THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE, AND EVENTS AND WARFARE
LEADING UP TO YORKTOWN.

It was the invariable practice with the British Generals in the war to issue from time to time proclamations to the people calling on them to return to their allegiance to the Crown and become loyal subjects. These appeals are so numerous that one cannot do more by way of illustrating them than select one and leave the reader to imagine the rest. *Ex uno omnes*. Cornwallis, from Hillsborough, on 20th February, 1781, thus proclaims his victories and his will:—"Whereas it has pleased Divine Providence to prosper the operations of His Majesty's arms in driving the rebel army out of this province, and whereas it is His Majesty's most gracious wish to rescue his faithful and loyal subjects from the cruel tyranny under which they have groaned for many years, I have thought proper to issue this proclamation to invite all faithful subjects to repair without loss of time, with their arms and ten days' provisions, to the Royal Standard now erected at Hillsborough, where they will meet with the most friendly reception, and I do hereby assure them that I am ready to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion in this province and for the better establishment of good and constitutional government."

Of course these proclamations had no effect on the so-called rebels further than to make them more determined to liberate their country from foreign government. These leaflets issued from the Loyalist Press drew forth occasional proclamations from Congress to the nation, and we will give here a sample of those national appeals to the people, calling

upon them to support the army and by every means maintain their freedom and independence :—

“ Several years have now passed away since the commencement of this present war : a war without parallel in the annals of mankind. On one side we behold fraud and violence labouring in the service of despotism. On the other virtue and fortitude supporting and establishing the rights of human nature. You cannot but remember how reluctantly we were dragged into this arduous contest, and how repeatedly, with the earnestness of humble entreaty, we supplicated a redress of our grievances from time to time from him who ought to have been the father of his people. In vain did we implore his protection, in vain appeal to justice and the generosity of Englishmen, men who had been our guardians, the assertors and vindicators of liberty through a succession of ages ; men who with their sword had established the firm barriers of freedom and cemented them with the blood of heroes. Every effort was vain, for even whilst we were prostrated at the foot of the throne that fatal blow was struck which separated us for ever. Thus spurned and insulted, thus driven by our enemies into measures which our souls abhorred, we made a solemn appeal to the tribunal of unerring wisdom and justice, to that Almighty Ruler of Princes whose Kingdom is over all. We were then quite defenceless, without arms, without ammunition, without clothing, without ships, without money, without officers skilled in war, with no other reliance than the bravery of our people and the justice of our cause. We had to contend against a nation great in arts and in arms, whose fleet covered the ocean, whose banner had waved in triumph through every quarter of the globe. However unequal in this contest, our weakness was still further increased by the enemies which America had nurtured in her bosom. Thus exposed on one side to external forces and internal divisions, on the other to contemplate drinking the bitter cup of slavery and go sorrowing all our lives long, to this sad

alternative we, like men determined to be free, choose the former.

“ But however great the injustice of our foes in commencing this war, it is by no means equal to that cruelty with which they have conducted it. The course of their armies has been marked by rapine and devastation. Thousands, without distinction of age or sex, have been driven from their peaceful abodes to encounter the rigours of inclement seasons, and the face of heaven has been insulted by the wanton conflagration of defenceless towns. Their victories have been followed by the cool murder of men, no longer able to assist themselves, and those who escaped from the first act of carnage have been exposed to cold, hunger and nakedness, to wear out a miserable existence in the tedious hours of confinement or to become the destroyers of their countrymen, perhaps of their friends—dreadful thought!—of their parents and children. Nor was this the outrageous barbarity of an individual, but a system of deliberate malice, stamped with the concurrence of the British Legislature and sanctioned by all the formalities of law. Nay, determined to dissolve the closest bonds of society, they have stimulated servants to slay their masters in the peaceful hour of domestic security. Nay, they have incited the Indians against us, and a General who calls himself a Christian, a follower of the Merciful Jesus, hath dared to proclaim to all the world his intention of letting loose against us whole hosts of savages whose rule of warfare is promiscuous carnage, who rejoice to murder infants smiling in their mothers’ arms, to inflict on their prisoners the most excruciating tortures and exhibit scenes of horror at which nature recoils.”

The address finally calls on the Sons of Liberty to go to their tents and gird for battle. “ For the time has come,” it says, “ to avenge the cruelty of our destroyers. They have filled up the measure of their abominations and, like ripe fruit, must soon drop from the tree. Expect not peace

whilst any corner of America is in possession of the enemy." The Congress from which assembly this address was sent forth appealed to all Christian ministers to read it from their pulpits and to invoke Heaven to bless their arms and to confound their adversaries.

The above battle of proclamations from the contending Powers on both sides of the Revolution will serve as a preface for our brief summary of the battles and raids and routs between the armies led by Cornwallis in the South against the American forces under the famed Nathaniel Greene. We saw how helpless the Southern forces were after the rout of Gates and the defeat of Lincoln to stem the flowing tide of British success in '80 and the beginning of '81. Greene was specially selected by Washington to lead what was fast becoming a forlorn hope. He had been in charge of Westpoint after the trial of Andre, at which he presided. When Gates failed to come up to expectations at Camden, Greene, the favourite of the Commander-in-Chief, was sent as a suitable *alter ego* to the General to right the wrong and rally the drooping spirits and dwindling forces of the continental army in the South. He started operations with an ill-equipped force of about 2,000 men, for the most part militia who had been unaccustomed to active warfare, a motley band of ill-provisioned and ill-equipped soldiers.

Cornwallis was in high spirits owing to his recent successful campaigns. He was a fearless, brave and fairly honourable foeman. He was ubiquitous and of ceaseless energy. His motto was to subdue and conquer and then establish English rule with a generous hand over the colonies. The Tories were very numerous in the South. The rich planters were mostly English in sympathy. Cornwallis could procure everywhere amongst them fresh horses, plenty of food, and his means of gaining information were reliable. In the Northern States things were different for the English, and hence the want of success to their arms.

Greene performed wonders in the South during the seven months' campaign he waged there prior to the capture of Yorktown. He evaded, harassed, pursued and attacked the enemy, in a manner that placed him in the first rank as a brave and tactful General. He by degrees forced the English from their strongholds and hemmed them in towards the sea. He cut off gradually their chances of drawing supplies from the interior and forced them to retreat to the seaports to escape famine. Greene's success roused the friends of liberty in the Southern States and caused the timid Tories to shun their quondam friends, so that soon they found themselves in the midst of people who were either hostile or who shunned them.

Greene's first plan of campaign was to attack the Tories in their strongholds and overawe them. For this purpose he ordered General Morgan, who was in a subordinate command, to go forth to intercept a band of Loyalists who had been recruited as a result of Cornwallis's proclamation. The strong action of Morgan in putting to the sword several hundreds of these enemies of liberty had a deterrent effect on the Tories.

Cornwallis sent forward his favourite General, Tarleton, to give battle to Morgan and prevent his junction with Greene, whilst he, with the main ranks, marched forward between the main American ranks to help in the operations. At the Cowpens, on the 17th January, 1781, Morgan drew up his forces in a strong position and prepared for action. With skill and resolution Morgan made a most judicious and impetuous charge on Tarleton. The action was successful. The English General, with all his daring courage, could not prevent disorder and rout among his ranks. The lines broke in confusion, many escaped and as many as 800 were left dead or wounded on the field of battle or captured by the American forces. The artillery and all the armaments of war fell into Morgan's hands. The rout of Tarleton, who was the terror of these parts, put courage into the friends of

liberty, and it might be said that the battle of the Cowpens was the turning point in the hitherto victorious British campaign in the South.

Cornwallis, with that indomitable courage for which he was noted in the war, renewed his energies to prevent the armies of Greene and Morgan from joining, but the American Generals were not easily caught napping. Morgan, with great speed, crossed over the Catawaba river after the victory, carrying with him both prisoners and baggage, and thus escaped a crushing blow from Cornwallis and the main English forces, which reached the river two hours after the Americans had crossed over. A heavy fall of rain at this time had so raised the river's current that Cornwallis was compelled to remain twenty-four hours on the opposite bank.

Morgan, now freed from the pressure of his fast following pursuers, sent on to a safe retreat the prisoners and wounded that he carried with him from the Cowpens, and soon he and Greene joined forces, and Greene took command once more of the united forces. Cornwallis was still on the war-path in pursuit, and as the armies advanced the British General was gaining on the Americans, thanks to his swift horses and better means of transit. Of course, both armies had cast to one side in this retreating campaign their heavy baggage. So close was the pursuit of Cornwallis that in twenty-four hours Greene marched his army over miserable roads forty miles and took but one meal and slept six hours, under arms. Greene determined at all cost not to be overtaken nor to give battle until it should suit his plans. After a hunting march of over a hundred miles Cornwallis halted and sent out a proclamation calling on the Loyalists to come into camp, that he would be their protector, as he was the saviour of the South below Virginia. He had subdued the rebels in the Southern States.

Greene after his retreat got time for rest and recruiting among the friendly Virginians, and now that his army was almost 5,000 strong, although a composite band, unskilled

in action, he determined to give Cornwallis battle at Guilford where he had encamped. The battle was fought on the 15th March and was stiffly and bravely contested, each General, English and American, leading his main forces in person, and urging his men to the attack. The militia, as usual, gave way early in the contest, and the main fighting was sustained on both sides by the regulars. The well-contested encounter seemed to favour the British when Cornwallis ordered his artillery to be turned on the American lines. The artillery firing was of dubious advantage to Cornwallis, as the shots killed as many of his own men as of the enemy in the confusion. Yet the bold action of Cornwallis was good tactics, as it had the effect of arresting the ranks of his own troops in retreat. In this action of Cornwallis one can see the bold tactics of the brave commander. Under similar circumstances Napoleon would have probably acted in a similar fashion.

The battle of Guilford has been claimed in history by both sides. The losses were nearly equal—on the American side 400 in killed and wounded; the British losses were 500. However, Cornwallis was placed by the engagement in a much more disadvantageous position. He was among strangers and surrounded by enemies who would neither supply food nor men, nor give him correct information. Hence Guilford and, in fact, Virginia became an unsafe camping ground for the English General. Cornwallis soon after this engagement became the fugitive, and he took off his forces to Wilmington. To Lord Rawdon, a cruel Irish General, he gave command of the troops that were to protect the conquered Carolinas.

Greene followed Rawdon with the intention of relieving the Southern States from British subjection, and at this juncture he parted with the militia of Virginia which remained to protect their own State in conjunction with the troops that were arriving from Washington's main army in the North. A battle in which both sides claimed victory

was fought at Camden between Rawdon and Greene. One result followed from all these engagements during the spring and summer of 1781, viz., the British found it difficult to maintain their posts in the interior and were constantly heading their troops towards the seaboard and leaving the country in the hands of the Patriots.

The British Generals had no reliable scouting parties to keep them posted in the movements of the enemy. The case was otherwise with the Americans in those Southern parts. Hence caution was necessary to prevent the army of Cornwallis from blindly falling into the power of the brave Greene, Morgan, Marion, or Sumpter, who were among a friendly people, who gave them food and forage freely and the latest information about the enemy.

After a siege under the direction of the famed Pole, Kosciusko, of twenty-nine days, Fort Ninety-Six, in which Rawdon was entrenched, was abandoned by Greene, to be again attacked and captured by this General after he had made a feint of retreating from the storming of the enemy's position.

Lord Rawdon was amongst the most cruel of the British Generals in the Revolution, and now that Greene was pressing him to contract his lines he became very harsh towards any prisoners who had formerly been in his own ranks from compulsion. It may be here noted that the country through which the armies passed was for the most part left tenantless. Those with Tory sympathies flocked to the British camp for protection, and many of the patriot party who refused allegiance to the enemy trekked across the borders towards Tennessee and Kentucky.

Whilst General Greene was with marked success liberating the Carolinas and Georgia from British sway and hemming them in in the two fortified seaports of Charleston and Havanna, Cornwallis was making efforts to form a juncture with the traitor Arnold, who had some time previous arrived from New York in command of 1,400 troops destined

to aid in the subjugation of Virginia. Washington, who desired nothing more earnestly than the capture of the traitor, sent Lafayette to intercept him in his cruel crusade of burning and butchery in and around Portsmouth. Had the French fleet despatched at this time from the North been successful in co-operating with the land forces under Lafayette there is no doubt that Arnold would have been surrounded and captured at Portsmouth. As it was, Lafayette made heroic efforts to circumvent him, but so wary a soldier was not to be caught easily in a trap, and hence, under the protection of the British fleet, he soon abandoned Virginia and sailed North for further orders from Clinton. Lafayette, now that he was joined by Baron Reuben and General Anthony Wayne, had under him 4,000 soldiers, and in the absence of Arnold as a foe he turned towards Cornwallis and his famous light horse scouter, Tarleton. Cornwallis commenced in his march through Virginia a most destructive campaign of pillage and burning and terrorising as he passed along. The numbers in the British ranks at Richmond when Lafayette proposed to give them battle were 8,000.

At Richmond Cornwallis, confident of a victorious campaign, attacked and pillaged this important city, seized the House of Burgesses and even captured some of the Representatives. Jefferson, who was Governor of the State, only escaped capture by flight.

Lafayette in his manœuvring with the enemy proved himself as a General among the first rank, though in real danger from which it was hopeless to escape, he succeeded, by keeping his light troops on the move in the rear of the enemy, and inflicted no inconsiderable injury on their out-flanks.

Sir Henry Clinton at this juncture became alarmed, from information received from intercepted letters that were passing to and from Washington, that the American General contemplated an immediate attack on New York with the



Lincoln. Washington. De Lauzon. Lafayette. Cornwallis. O'Hara. Chewton.
THE BRITISH SURRENDERING THEIR ARMS TO GEN. WASHINGTON, 1781.

combined allied forces, and Clinton presumed that the troops at hand for resistance would have been unable to cope with an attack by sea and land. Accordingly he ordered Cornwallis to bring the Virginian campaign to a close, take up a strong position on the Chesapeake and detach a strong contingent for New York.

It was no doubt Washington's ardent wish to capture New York, and to accomplish this object he had been in consultation with the French forces in the New England States in hopes that when the troops about to reach America from France should arrive they would all make a vigorous effort to attack the Commander-in-Chief and his army in their headquarters at New York.

As we saw in our chapter on the capture of Yorktown in "Washington to Roosevelt," all their plans were upset by circumstances that, though at the time disappointing to Washington, proved a blessing in disguise, and were the means under Providence that not alone brought about the capture of the greatest of the English Generals in the Revolution, but led to the final settlement of the War for Independence.

CHAPTER XXI.

REFLECTIONS ON THE WAR.—CAUSES LEADING UP TO FINAL VICTORY.

THE capture of Cornwallis and his entire army at Yorktown might be said to have virtually closed the wars of the Revolution. The combined forces, American and French, amounting in all to 16,000, under the supreme command of Washington, were the immediate cause of the great victory, but a little summary of the causes leading up to and conditions *sine qua non* may be to the point in this connection. When Gates was defeated and his army of 6,000 routed and captured, bag and baggage, the Southern part

of the Union was practically in the hands of the British Generals and the cruel Tories reigned supreme from Virginia to Georgia. The army under Washington in the North was unfit for bold frontal fighting, owing to many causes, but chiefly from want of funds, and what funds could procure. Prior to the capture of Yorktown funds had been obtained and the wants of the army supplied. Mr. Laurens had been sent by Washington's express wish to the Court of Louis to apply urgently for a loan. Franklin was at Paris most of the period of the Revolution, and we have seen the giant work he executed in the cause of his country by his diplomacy, tact, wit and science. His great genius and popularity were entirely all those years at the service of his country. These friends of the Revolution procured a gratuitous personal loan from the Catholic King. The exchequer was too low at Versailles to procure a loan on the Treasury. Holland also advanced a considerable subsidy, after the above channels had already been tapped time and again, and after the patriotism of the ladies of Philadelphia, headed by Mrs. Reid and Morris and others had set the lead to the ladies of Liberty over the Union selling their jewels, living sparingly, knitting, sewing and forwarding in tens of thousands articles of clothing to the army confined to camp, often from necessity, and in their distress often showing more patriotism than in marching against the foe, cheered by their companions and applauded by their countrymen as they advanced. But the master hand who undertook to grapple with the financial difficulties of the country and procure supplies for the combined forces under Washington was Robert Morris, a native of England, then a Pennsylvanian citizen, who came over to America at fifteen years of age, entered business and soon became the leading commercial business man in Philadelphia. The Carrolls of Carrolltown, the Lynches and the Moylans, originally from the South of Ireland, were also great financial benefactors in the crisis. Of Morris

Sullivan says: "He devoted himself to the patriot side in the revolutionary contest. He had acquired great wealth as a merchant, and he cheerfully risked it all to gain the independence of his adopted country. The final success of the Revolution depended no less on his ability and industry than on the armies with Washington as chief. At one time he had used his own credit to the extent of 1,400,000 dollars to sustain the credit of the United States. At a critical moment he had presented the suffering army with a whole shipload of clothing and ammunition. Under his auspices a national bank was established which proved a most popular auxiliary to Congress. Under the able management of Morris public credit revived and a new impulse was communicated to all the operations of government. He accepted the position of Treasurer of Finance and by his agency specie alone was paid in every business transaction to the end of the war."

When General Greene assumed command of the army of the Revolution in the South he was confronted with a task apparently insurmountable. It was his task, with an ill-provided-for and an inexperienced militia, to meet that hitherto most successful General, Cornwallis, and his large army of 8,000, his brave subordinate officers, perhaps the bravest of the Revolution on the English side, Tarleton, Ferguson, Rawdon, Leslie, and their powerful Loyalist allies, the rich planters and shippers of the Carolinas and Virginia and adjoining States, who had flocked to the standard of the conquering "De Wet" of the South. Under Greene was the brave County Derry Irishman, Morgan, who had so distinguished himself at Saratoga. These two efficient and brave commanders, with Lafayette, who was in a more northern command in Virginia, soon silenced the Tory allies, hunted the perfidious Arnold back to his Northern camp, to commit cruelties amongst his New England countrymen along the coastline, by their Fabian tactics, their Boer-like raids and marches with little baggage, crossing

fords and rivers, pulling down bridges and drawing away Cornwallis from his safe Southern conquered territory, but, unlike the Boers, evading the vigilance of the British General. Greene was too clever to be caught like a rat in a trap, burrowing in the banks of the river; nay, rather he was inveigling the English army into a territory where they found neither friends nor forage and from which they were glad to recede towards the coast for the protection of their powerful fleet, which was hovering near Virginia. But poor brave Cornwallis and his fine army found their Saratoga at Yorktown.

Thus by the indomitable energy of Greene, by the patriotism and financial skill and generosity of Morris, by the diplomacy of Franklin, the aid of the Daughters of Liberty, the army and navy under Rochambeau and De Grasse, and, above all, by the calm, placid, brave, fearless, patient and sagacious Washington, the defeat of the British Army was effected on the 19th October, 1781, at Yorktown.

The surrender of Yorktown practically ended the war; General Greene some months later recovered the entire South from the English garrison, and soon the army, under Sir Henry Clinton, and later under Sir Guy Carleton, was confined to their last stronghold, New York. Here they remained till the 25th November, 1782, when the last British soldier took shipping from the shores of America amid the general rejoicing of the people.

One may now enquire at what points in the campaign for liberty during seven weary, waiting, watchful years the name and fame of Washington shines brightest in the light of history. Contemporary history would seem to place the greatest achievement of the General not at Boston, not at Valley Forge, not at Yorktown, nor at any other point than his heroic and hopeless retreat across the Jerseys in the winter of 1776, and his victories in the dead frost and snow with a famishing remnant of an army at Trenton and Princeton across the Delaware. Cornwallis, on the occasion of a ban-

quet given him and his officers by Washington in conjunction with his honoured French allies after the capitulation of Yorktown, said, in reply to his toast as drunk with feeling by the French and American officers: "When the illustrious part your Excellency has borne in this long and arduous contest becomes matter for history you will gather your highest laurels from the banks of the Delaware rather than from the Chesapeake." The following anecdote gives a witty but fair comment of the part played by George Washington in the Revolution: Long after Washington's victories had made his name famous over Europe Franklin chanced to dine with the English and French Ambassadors at the seat of Congress, when the following toasts were proposed by the representatives of their respective countries. The Englishman said: "Let us drink to the prosperity of England, the sun whose beams enlighten and fructify the remotest corners of the earth." The Frenchman enthused with national pride, but too tactful to be discourteous to his English brother said: "Here's to France, the moon whose mild, steady and cheery rays are the delight of nations, consoling them in their gloom and making their dreariness beautiful." Franklin toasting his native America said: "Here's to George Washington, the Joshua who commanded the sun and moon to stand still and they obeyed him."

CHAPTER XXII.

WASHINGTON AND HIS ARMY.—DIFFICULTIES TO KEEP DOWN
INSURRECTION.—THE LOVE OF ARMY FOR GENERAL.
—SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI.—WASHINGTON
TAKING LEAVE OF ARMY
AND CONGRESS.

IF Washington was kind and considerate towards the army, if he pressed Congress to assist them in their distress during their term of service, he was also a strict disciplinarian and allowed no infraction of rules, no insubordination to those in command. Theft, peculation, cruelty to the enemy or prisoners or insults of any kind by one religious denomination towards another were all severely reprimanded by him. We saw how he punished some New Englanders for cursing the Pope and using bad language or uttering blasphemy. He caused to be discontinued the practice so common among dissenters in anti-revolution times of burning the Pope's effigy on the 5th of November. When his army seized the effects of the Ralle army at Trenton it was found that the knapsacks of the Hessians were filled with articles plundered from the inhabitants of New Jersey as they marched through that State triumphant. These valuables thus recovered he restored to their lawful owners when proof of ownership was forthcoming. He was firm in carrying out the army regulations, in punishing spies as well as traitors, and when cruelty was practised towards prisoners by the enemy he remonstrated and as a rule with effect, and rarely had he recourse to retaliation by way of punishing cruelty or injustice perpetrated by the British on his own army or on subjects of the Union.

The army loved their General, but sometimes hunger and want will burst all bounds, and thus we find the Pennsylvania line under General Wayne rising in insubordination and

marching without orders to Philadelphia to lay their wants before Congress and at the point of the bayonet demand terms from the civil authorities. Their grievances were acknowledged and redressed and the insurrection was passed over without anyone being courtmartialled. Soon after we find the Jersey line imitating the example set them by Wayne's regiment and refusing to obey their officers. This time Washington was less indulgent. He dispatched a brave corps of veterans under an experienced officer to put down the anarchy and to inflict summary punishment. Two of the ringleaders were shot in front of the army and thus ended till the end of the war all insubordination to military authority in the army. Well might Washington towards the end of the war have used his great powers and the strong hold he had on the affections of the soldiers to establish a military dictatorship and seize the reins of power and authority over the nation which he and his army spent themselves to establish. Some there are who hold that a military dictatorship would have been lawful under the peculiar circumstances. Union was desired and was a necessity if the nation was to rehabilitate itself and become a power among the nations; but factional and sectional and local difficulties militated against the cohesion necessary for an efficient union embracing the thirteen States and solidifying them under a Government with an Executive, a Legislature and a Judicial division of power and authority reaching from end to end of the United States. Cromwell would have seized the opportunity, presented by a distracted country and a loyal army, and placed himself at the head of the American Republic, perhaps allowed the army to place a crown upon his ambitious brow. He would have roused the public mind by false alarms, rumours and wild fears among the people. He would have used a "Pride's purge" upon the Congress in Philadelphia and turned out, as did Cromwell, all who refused to bend the knee to the dictator. Washington might have repeated this page of English history and found a

parallel in the revolution in England that remodelled the Constitution and placed a military commoner as civil ruler over the mightiest nation on earth, and he might thus have set a precedent for Napoleon. Both before that day and since examples are numerous of the power inherent in the command of a powerful army. Pitt and Castlereagh when they wished to overawe poor Ireland, rob her of liberty and annex her, tie her hand and foot to the throne and constitution of England, to be bled and devoured ever since, sent over an army of almost 150,000 to goad her to rebellion, butcher her sons, pillage her homes and burn and destroy her property. She had a military barrack erected near the Irish Parliament House to aid in the wholesale bribery, corruption and intimidation of her Parliament prior to the passing of the Union in 1800. Nay, was it not through the power and from dread of our citizen army of Irish Volunteers that Grattan was able, in 1782, to carry through Parliament the establishment of a native Parliament?

But nothing was further from Washington's thoughts than to take such a course and act such a part. He fought for his country's freedom under Congress and never did he exceed the powers assigned him by the civil authorities, whose servant he was and whose will for eight long years as General was his law. No; you will see him handing up his commission at the end of the war just before departing for his beloved home to the President and Congress. You will see him returning humble thankfulness that he was able to lead the nation's army to victory at every turn in the fortunes of war, submit to the decrees and directions of the civil power; nay, when one Colonel Armstrong, acting for a faction in the army just before its disbandment, drew up a most inflammatory address or circular which was published among the ranks as well as being forwarded to Congress, representing that the army should not disband, having still their arms with them, and go away singly to their homes to be neglected and to become paupers in their separate parishes and dis-

tricts, and that Congress was not to be trusted, as their past record showed.

Washington immediately recognised the crisis this rash circular might bring about, and loving the army he had the courage to oppose their mutinous spirit, successfully harangued them, and succeeded in quelling the budding insubordination, which might have proved fatal to their well-earned freedom, and from the army he received an address of patriotic attachment to his person.

The warm affection in which Washington held the troops who served under him during the war was well exhibited when the time at last arrived to bid farewell to them and resign his commission as Commander-in-Chief of the Army into the hands of Congress. It was on the 25th of November, 1783, after the English forces had sailed from New York, that the civil and military authorities in triumph entered that city, amidst the joy and acclaim of a free people. It was New York that Washington selected on the occasion of his occupation of the last stronghold of British power in America as the place in which he should part with his beloved army and bid them a final adieu. The occasion was a severe ordeal for the General, to say farewell to those brave men who had become so much to him by the many links that bind an army and General together. They had become deeply attached to each other during eight long years of toil and trials. In all dangers, all fatigues, all circumstances of privation and want they renewed their hopes and drooping courage by the consolation that their beloved chief was near them, sharing their lot, always hopeful and ever cool and calm and confident of final success to their arms. The parting scenes on this historic occasion cannot be better described than by quoting from the graphic account of the scene from Chief Justice Marshall, then a youth, and later the biographer of Washington:—"At noon the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis Tavern, soon after which their beloved commander entered the room. His

emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass he turned to them and said with a heart full of love and gratitude: 'I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your later days may be as prosperous and happy as your former have been glorious and honourable.' Having drunk he added: 'I cannot come to each of you to take leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' " In the most affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tears of manly sensibility were in every eye, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence and tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room he passed through the corps of light infantry and walked to the White Hall, where at the water's edge a barque was in readiness to convey him to Paulus Hook. The whole company followed in silent procession with solemn countenance and melancholy dejection, testifying better than words can describe their pent-up feelings. He quietly entered the barque, and as she sailed away he raised his hat in silence and thus he signalled them a last adieu. He now turns his course towards Maryland to meet Congress, then at Annapolis, where they had transferred their seat of deliberations from Princeton. With what feelings did he now cross over the routes by which he seven years previously retreated from New York, defeated and dejected, with his troops on the brink of starvation and almost naked, and his army almost annihilated in battle and from desertions. " These were the days that truly tried the souls of men. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will," said Paine, " shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of men and women. Tyranny like hell is not easily conquered, yet we have this consolation with us that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph." This second journey across the Jerseys was the triumphal march of a mighty General advancing victorious to receive the laurels of victory on his brow from the hands of his grateful countrymen.

When he arrived at the seat of Government he placed in the hands of the Controller an account of his personal expenses during the eight years he led his country's armies, and then he informed the President that he was prepared to resign his command into his hands as representing the nation. It was decided to give him a public reception on the occasion when the public and Congress should be present to do honour to the liberator of their country. When the appointed time came that Washington should formally give up his commission he addressed these words to the Assembly with a majesty and dignity peculiarly his own. After congratulating the Assembly on the happy termination of the war he added: "Having now finished my work I retire from the theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission and take leave of public life."

It was truly an impressive scene to witness that noble soldier in solemn silence and with military bearing, approach the President's chair and deliver into his hands, in presence of that vast assembly, who stood in respectful silence, the commission he received at the commencement of the war.

Mifflin was then President of Congress, and it was most remarkable that the President was amongst those who plotted against the General in those evil days when revilers in the plot known as "Conway's Cabal" were undermining his power in the army and defaming him to the Assembly and country. Let the words of Mifflin show how much Congress honoured him and how grateful the country was to their deliverer:—

"Sir, the United States in Congress assembled receive with emotions too affecting for utterance the solemn resignation of the authority under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and while it was without funds or a Government to support

you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power, through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens enabled them to display their martial genius and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered until these United States, aided by a magnanimous King and nation, have been enabled under a wise Providence to close the war in freedom, safety and independence, on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this New World, having taught a lesson useful to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessing of your fellow-citizens. But the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command: it will continue to animate remotest ages."

Now Washington was free from official cares. At the conclusion of this interesting ceremony he exchanged salutations with the members of Congress, who rose as he retired from the house. A dense mass of his fellow-citizens thronged the way as he passed along from the Congress Hall, and by their repeated acclamations testified their love and gratitude. It was with unfeigned joy he hastened home to his loved Mount Vernon, the home of his domestic affections, where during those long eight years he rarely, except on a few hurried visits, entered. His public duties only rendered the fond desire of domestic peace and retirement dearer. The natural longing of his heart was at last gratified. His wish to return after the toils and trials of the war for liberty and under the shadow of his own vine on the banks of the Potomac end his days in peace was at last realised. He wrote soon after his arrival in Virginia to Governor Clinton as follows: "The scene is at last closed. I feel myself relieved from a load of care and hope now to spend the remainder of my days cultivating the affections of good men in the practice of domestic virtues,"

But he was not yet allowed to enjoy that seclusion and repose he so longed for. Every day brought him addresses from affectionate and grateful people over the length and breadth of the States, and these acts of public recognition continued for many months after he had retired into private life. Congress also did not rest with merely offering him an address: they unanimously voted that an equestrian statue should be made of bronze representing the General sitting on his famous steed, and a suitable inscription and basso-relief representing the principal events of the war, and erected in the capital. Virginia in its Congress voted him a marble statue with suitable inscription, to be erected in the capital of the State.

We must not forget here to record the expressed gratitude of General Washington for the Divine protection afforded him during the course of the war. He attributes to the interposition of Providence the blessing of so successful a termination. He says he was supported throughout by the patronage of Heaven, and he does not forget when bidding farewell to public life to recommend the interests of his dearest country to the protection of Almighty God as well as those who have the superintendence of them. During the course of the war his prayers for success never ceased, and his confidence in the goodness of the Deity to bring him and the cause he fought for safely to the end and to freedom never forsook him.

We shall now end this epoch of American history, wound up as it has been mainly with the life of Washington, by giving a long extract from an address of his to the people of America.

“ The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world and abounding with all necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and inde-

pendency. They are from this period to be considered as the actors in a most conspicuous theatre which seems to be peculiarly designated by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity. Here they are not only surrounded with everything which can contribute to the completion of private and domestic happiness, but heaven has crowned all its other blessings by giving a fairer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favoured with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than a recollection of the happy conjunction of times and circumstances under which our Republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our Empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined than at any former period. The researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for our use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of Government. The free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and, above all, the pure and benign light of Revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely happy the fault will be entirely their own."

CHAPTER XXIII.

HOME LIFE AT MOUNT VERNON FROM 1783 TO 1789.

WHEN Washington retired from the arena of public life, as he fondly, though vainly, hoped for ever, he began to mix in that homely circle around Mount Vernon so congenial to a country farmer. His desire was to be free from official life and publicity, but as we shall see later privacy was not so easy to attain for a man whose fame was world-wide. Had he been made prisoner, like Napoleon, and confined on a lonely island, some degree of that rest so longed for might have been his; but not even the retired position of the mansion on the lovely Potomac could ward off the army of artists, litterateurs, sculptors and painters, soldiers and statesmen from all parts who sought him out in his retirement. He ambited nothing higher than to sit down under his own vine and fig-tree and devote himself to the quiet pleasures of rural life. In youth his zeal was for war; a martial life was an hereditary occupation in his family history from the days of the ill-fated Charles I. and back to the days when his progenitors came over with Edward from Normandy. Now he had more sane and mature ideas of war: his ideas on war were always sane and just. Of war he writes in 1784: "How pitiful in the age of reason and religion is the false ambition which desolates the world with fire and sword for the purpose of conquest and fame compared to the milder virtues of making our neighbours and our fellow-men as happy as their frail convictions and perishable natures will permit them."

Sentimentality had little sway with his practical mind. Rarely did he unbend himself in yielding to the little and common places of ordinary mortals. As a friend he was sincere, faithful and true. He was on intimate terms with few outside his own household: perhaps the Marquis of

Lafayette and General Knox were his most intimate acquaintances. The two, especially the former, he looked upon as close and personal friends, and the attachment he had for the young Frenchman was lasting and persevering under every wave of his varied and chequered life. When parting with him at Mount Vernon in '84 to see him for the last time he could not trust himself to say good-bye, but wrote him later how he felt on the occasion, and his letter, still extant, reveals a sentimental side in his Stoic-like character that was most unusual. In this letter, after tenderly bewailing their severance, he prophetically remarks that coming as he does from a short-lived race he cannot now, at the age of forty-two, expect to meet again his more than friend on this side of the grave.

Those who were strangers to his person and who came into his presence impressed with his great renown, and who saw in him only the great general, statesman and father of his country, could not feel entirely at ease before him, though nothing was more congenial to his ideas of what he expected of visitors and acquaintances than that they should approach him and feel confidence without confusion. He did not relish the respect which his presence inspired when on his entering to mix in or witness sociality and fun at social gatherings all seemed to stop abashed and to act with caution and reserve. However, his secretary, who knew him best, records that not only did he inspire respect and a certain admiration, but that he grew more and more on your esteem the longer you knew him.

Many eminent painters and sculptors visited him to be privileged to perpetuate his name by their art, and from the accounts we have extant of their impressions of him we can glean that he was a difficult subject for a portrait-painter or sculptor to elicit the expression required. Not alone did this arise from the profound respect and deep interest from long anticipations which the artist fostered in his mind, but from the inflexible character upon which to scintillate their wit

and humour to draw forth the desired expression. Facility of adaptation is seldom found connected with great individuality. A man whose entire life has been one of responsibility and whose prominent virtues are good sense and uprightness, cannot be expected to yield to flights of geniality and lose self-control and reflection. There were few subjects on which an artistic mind could interest a man whose chief hobbies were in the science of arms and agriculture. He was grave and reserved by nature, more a man of action than of words. Hence one who has been said to have carried in his brain the vast interests of his native America was not easily moulded by the artist no matter how versatile he might have been acting in the light of his profession to gain expressiveness in the subject. A David might have produced an ideal hero, noble, erect, defiant on his prancing charger, but few could, without much study and patience, produce a real life picture of Washington.

That Washington was not averse to unbend himself at times is known to those acquainted with his life. Though habitually of a grave disposition and thoughtful nature he was sociable and loved to see others enjoy themselves. He was, as were all Virginians in his day, fond of dancing, and many ancient dames in the beginning of the last century who had been belles in the time of the Revolution, were proud to boast that they had danced minuets with him or had him for partner in contra-dances. Balls were of frequent occurrence in camp in winter quarters among the officers and their wives in the dark days of the war, and we are told how the General on one occasion danced for upwards of three hours without once sitting down with Mrs. Greene, wife of the famous General.

At the end of the war and after he had settled his accounts with Congress for the necessary expenses of his eight years' war he found himself, except for the large plantations, four in number, which he possessed (the Mount Vernon estate alone contained six thousand acres), low in

finance. His affairs were more or less neglected. Lud Washington, his agent, in his absence was not an ideal manager, although by letter and through maps and plans and by general directions which he regularly sent forward from camp to his agent he was in constant touch with every detail of his personal affairs, and he had directions constantly transmitted how his estate should be managed. One direction to his agent was that at least fifty pounds each year should be distributed in a judicious manner to the poor just as if he were at home himself. Out of gratitude for his public services to the nation many States offered to make him some recompense, some by money presentations, others by offering him shares in companies or by allocating to him territory in their dominions.

Jefferson was in Paris and he consulted him about the advisability of such a course as accepting money, etc., for his services on behalf of liberty. Jefferson thus wrote:—"My wishes to see you made perfectly easy by receiving these returns of gratitude from your country to which you are entitled would induce me to be contented with saying what is a certain truth, that the world would be pleased with seeing them heaped upon you and would consider your receiving them as no derogation from your reputation. But I must confess that declining them will add to your reputation, as it will show your motives have been pure without alloy. Still the receiving them will not in the least lessen the respect of the world if from any circumstance they would be convenient to you." Jefferson was right in saying that his country nor posterity would not hold him less in esteem by acceptance of gifts from the gratitude for services rendered to their country. Pitt was made an Earl and received an estate from George III. No doubt George desired to put on the pension list the giant statesman who was too broad-minded for George, and his first favourite, Bute. Grattan does not less deserve well of Ireland because his country so benefited him after 1782 that he, though poor, was able to devote his entire energies to the cause of his native land.

Some time after his arrival home Washington and his old friend, Dr. Craik, made a tour of the western territory around the Ohio. Here he passed along the tracts so familiar to him in the colonial wars in the 'fifties. He trekked across the ground over which Braddock passed; he visited the Great Meadows and Forts Pitt and Necessity; he viewed those scenes of boyhood over which he surveyed and along which he spent years protecting from the sudden onslaughts and raids of the French and their Indian allies. When he returned to his home he presented himself before the Virginian Congress and proposed the necessity for the State to open channels by water from east to west so that the increasing trade in those frontier regions might not go north through the Canadian Lakes and so to English channels, nor south by the Mississippi into Spanish grooves. His intervention in this matter supplemented the good work of George Clarke during the Revolution and saved the West to the United States.

At this time he describes his simple mode of life to a friend:—"I rise before sunrise each morning, breakfast at 7.30; soon after ride over my estate and among my workmen; inspect the works and give directions to my stewards and servants; return after noon, 2.30 P.M." Then he rested himself, looked over his correspondence and read from four to nine. He retired to rest at ten o'clock. There were no luxuries at his board, but strangers might never expect less hospitality than a glass of wine and a bit of mutton.

Soon after his return home he took in a most natural manner the role of a country farmer of the Virginian type. The transition from Commander-in-Chief to that of a private gentleman was agreeable and natural to him. In Mrs. Washington he had an ideal hostess and an agreeable and loving companion. It has been said of him that the only two daughters of Eve to whom he bent the knee were his mother and his wife. To them he was dutiful, devoted and true till death, and they were worthy of his dutiful affection.

Mrs. Washington shared all his joys and sorrows in Mount Vernon and in the more trying scenes in the war. She graced the camp and was a wise counsellor and example to the ladies of the camp. She had a cheerful, winsome manner and was prudent and frugal in her domestic management. She, like her husband, was devoted to work, and when not otherwise engaged she spent her leisure moments knitting and sewing, a habit which she turned to good account on behalf of the famished army in the Revolution. Like her husband, too, she was devoted to rural quietness and domestic joys at Mount Vernon, and never did she think, as she wrote a friend, was it possible under any circumstances that the General would be called upon to enter public life. "I had anticipated," said she, "that we should be suffered to grow old together in solitude and tranquility. That was the first and the dearest wish of my heart. When I was younger I might have enjoyed the gaieties of public life, but I have long since placed all my future worldly happiness in the still enjoyment of the fireside at Mount Vernon."

We know how the great Washington was obedient to his mother in earlier days. From her he inherited many virtues and imbibed many sound precepts, and when she died, at Fredricksburgh, he deeply mourned her loss.

The words of Solon were to him a motto in his retirement: "Each day grow older and learn something new." Solon, however, did not in old age practise what he so seer-like preached, for of himself it was thus sung in the decline of his days:

"But e'en the powers of beauty, song and wine,
Which are most men's delights, are also mine."

Washington may be compared in wisdom to the Pagan Solon, but he put in practice, not alone in youth and manhood, but still more so in the decline of his days, the virtues of the sage, and advanced in wisdom and knowledge and virtue till the last.

The routine of his life and labours at Mount Vernon was severe and an increasing burden. He was, as the Pennsylvania Assembly said, a public institution. He was entertaining friends, receiving visitors, granting interviews, sitting for painters and sculptors, giving his autograph to one and opening his purse to another and constantly reading and answering correspondence. His friends were numerous, and from near and far he was receiving letters by every post. Among the French officers he carried on a large number of correspondence. His own Generals and officers were ever writing him, consulting, advising and communicating from friendship or from other causes. Truly he had a busy time. After a little of this overwork he took to himself a secretary, one Mr. Lear, a college graduate from a more northern State, and an efficient and devoted young man, who relieved him of much of the overwork. Mr. Lear acted as tutor to his nephew and niece, and when death called him away we find this secretary by his side to console him in his last moments, devoted to the end.

He set about the improvement of his extensive property, repairing his much dilapidated mansion, renewing and rebuilding his office, house and labourers' dwellings. He kept a little colony of workers on his lands in houses erected for their use. The work before him in repairing his property and improving his premises and plantations was one that kept him very much occupied in the midst of his otherwise busy life. He began to study husbandry anew, and he was daily, when leisure allowed, reading and copying treatises on agriculture, horticulture and kindred subjects. He carried on correspondence with experts in these subjects, and amongst his correspondents we find Jefferson, from France, making suggestions, forwarding him plants and seeds and shrubs; and Arthur Young, from England, the famous traveller and writer, a noted authority on cultivation, soils and up-to-date methods of farming, was among those who gave him information on his favourite study, forwarded

seeds, as well as ploughs and farming implements of the latest improved make, plans for laying out his farm yards and lawns, and in general gave him sound advice on rural economy. To Young we find him writing as follows:—" Husbandry and agriculture have ever been my favourite amusements, though I have never possessed much skill in the art, and nine years inattention to it has added nothing to a knowledge which is best understood from practice; but with the means you have been so obliging as to furnish me I shall return to it, though late in life, with more alacrity than ever." One can see the practical mind of Washington leading our moderns over a hundred years ago and pointing out to us that with technical knowledge actual experience is the best school to reach success in farming. We see him now in real earnest setting about the work of repairing and remodelling and rebuilding his dilapidated out-houses and mansion, and we may add also building anew the family vault where his bones rest at Mount Vernon, in which he placed the ashes of his ancestors and in which he desired, if pleasing to them, his relatives might also rest. The lawns around his home were now laid out with military precision and neatness; walks were judiciously mapped out, shrubs of every description planted, and he acted as overseer and director in the execution of all these well-digested and well-designed operations.

Like most strong, simple natures, he was intensely fond of country life. He loved to roam abroad in the open, bracing air and survey his extensive domains, riding out on his favourite charger. Manly, rural exercise was his delight. He was in youth trained to follow the fox hunts with his friends, the Tory Fairfaxes, and this fondness for the hounds and fox hunts he now revived, though with less ardour than in juvenile days. The Fairfaxes departed the country in the Revolution, and though they did not take up arms on either side we know that all of them, except old Lord Fairfax, who died at the end of the war at over ninety,

some say with grief at the result, maintained a fondness for their old home and friends through the war, and later we find them from England corresponding with Washington. His friend Lafayette after his return to France sent across to his old General at Mount Vernon a pack of French wolf-hounds, and with these he occasionally chased the wild deer and fox over his plantations in these post-Revolution years.

It has been observed by some biographers of his life that he never laughed during the war. Of course this is an exaggeration. We know, however, that occasionally, though rarely, he did give way to an occasional fit of boisterous laughter in his moments of relaxation. A sudden and ridiculous surprise or ludicrous situation would give him the desired opportunity. As a rule, however, his mode of expressing joy or pleasure or hearty greeting was by a calm, placid countenance softening into a benevolent smile.

In the family circle he was urbane and kind, and in return was revered and adored. His servants loved him and looked to his eye to anticipate his every wish. He enjoyed pleasing society and loved to listen to anecdotes and stories of adventure well narrated. He was, however, prudently reticent about himself and could not be caught off his guard by the most artful. When pressed to recount scenes relating to his tragic career and glorious martial life he, with a suavity and tact peculiarly his own, turned the conversation into other channels. Bishop White, who knew him well, says that he knew no man who was so careful and guarded against discoursing of himself or his acts or of anything that pertained to him. If a stranger were in his company he would never have known from anything said by him that he was conscious of having distinguished himself in the eyes of the world.

To the soldiers and officers of his army he remained attached till the end of his life, and it was pleasing to him to assist any who solicited his aid at any time. When death,

as death did, carried off many of his beloved officers to a premature grave after the war he mourned their loss and condoled with their family and friends. His favourite General, Nathaniel Greene, died at the age of 45 years, in the year 1785, from the effects of sunstroke, and in deep sorrow he ejaculated on hearing the sad news: "The General was a great and good man."

In his peaceful seclusion at this time we can glean from his correspondence how much his sentiments were becoming inimicable to war. To one he wrote: "I never expect to draw my sword again. My wish is to see the whole world at peace and its inhabitants one band of brothers striving who shall contribute most to the happiness of mankind." Writing to the Count De Rochambeau in the year 1786 he again recorded his love of peace and concord among the nations of the earth. "The age of conquest," says he, "has in great measure ceased and more peaceful times are in store for the nations." Little did he dream of the mighty convulsions that were soon to shake the earth from the craters of the French Revolution; little did he think that soon all Europe should be a military camp and millions of armed men should carry havoc and desolation over the Old World. He did not foresee that his own nation would be lashed by the ebb and flow of the mighty waves of war, and that he, an old man, a year before his death, should be summoned anew from his sylvan retreat to prepare for an invasion from their one-time friends and faithful allies—the French Army.

Washington could not be considered a learned man in the modern acceptation of the term. He was not deeply read in general history. He had only an elementary knowledge of political economy, nor was he profoundly versed in the theory of politics. His religious education was mainly received from his mother and tutor as a boy. He never travelled outside his own country, unless on the occasion of a solitary sea voyage which he took in company with his con-

sumptive brother to the Indies, when Augustine was in quest of health. We do not know to what school of philosophy he was attached. He was a practical man, and all such knowledge, which was great, was acquired in the toilsome school of experience. He every day grew older and learned something new. His life's labour brought him into touch with every class and condition of men. His was an observant mind. He was given from habit and necessity to much concentration and deep thought. He dealt more in certainties and realities than in hypotheses. He had no time to unravel knotty and mystic sciences which required the leisure and isolation peculiar to professors and philosophers. He neither followed Hobbes nor Rosseau, Locke nor Bacon, nor Helvetius, Descartes, or any of those who built up pyramids in their imagination and laid down axioms and principles which never stand the test when applied to the realities of life. He was a plain man, with true bedrock ideas about right and wrong, duties and responsibilities. He never failed to put his trust in the Providence of God, ruling, guiding and directing all things, men and nations. He feared God, hated iniquity and loved justice, and thus he moulded everything that he put his hand to in consonance with the Divine Law, and trusting in the power of God he never failed to guide his country in the sure course to order, happiness and prosperity.

Anyone who peruses the public allocutions of George Washington, whether as General to the armies, Senate or Nation, or as President of the Republic, must be struck with the religious note which pervades all his utterances. He calls upon the Divine aid in all his trials, he invokes the blessing of God on all his undertakings, he appeals to Heaven for light and guidance and wisdom. When he entered on the mighty work of governing the people and binding up the wounds of a long war and building up a great nation prostrate from exhaustion, he calls upon the all-wise and all-powerful Deity to guide and direct and sustain him. To-day, in all

social, civil and military gatherings the custom has come down to us from our first President of beginning and ending these public functions with a blessing from some recognised minister of religion. The belief is generally accepted and was firmly held at the time that Divine Providence protected him through all the wars and many dangerous positions in which he found himself during a long military career, so that with the heathen poet it might be said of Washington—

“ From the din of war
Safe he returned without one hostile scar,
Though balls in leaden tempests rained around,
Yet innocent they flew and guiltless of a wound.”

As religion is commonly looked upon as a private matter, and as Washington was a man of strong convictions, seeing that he professed a strong belief in the Deity, one might naturally expect that he would externate his belief and convictions by some form of worship. We know he was a broad-minded Christian, and it was his custom and express wish that all Americans should serve God after their own fashion. To Lafayette, his old friend, a Catholic from a then most Catholic nation, he thus expressed himself:—
“I am disposed to indulge the professors of Christianity with that road to heaven which to them shall seem the most direct, pleasant and easiest and least liable to exception.”
He himself was brought up in the Episcopalian Church, and when at home at Mount Vernon he was a liberal subscriber, a vestryman in two churches seven and ten miles respectively from his own home. He was also a communicant, went to one of said two churches each Sunday morning. It was his custom to stand reverently during the service. He conducted no service privately at home that we are aware of, never went out to evening service, but spent the Sundays in the evenings reading or conversing with friends or surrounded by the social chat of his own family.

When Maryland Catholics presented him with an address expressing confidence in him and veneration for his character, he replied that in their happy country for evermore all religious would be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own conscience and that no man's religious convictions and professions would be a barrier to his holding the highest positions in the United States. Before the war broke out religious intolerance was by no means dead in the colonies. Dean Tucker as late as 1774 said that the feeling was general over the States that the Episcopalian Church, being a branch of the English Established Church and the one favoured and fawned on by law and the London garrison party in America, was the chief engine to maintain the British domination over them. We know that most of the Protestant parsons at the time of the war sided with the Loyalists. The Puritans, Presbyterians and some of the Wesleyans and all the Catholic ministers took the side of the Patriots. However, there was a feeling common among all denominations of hate or jealousy or fear of Catholics, and this was very much in evidence in the New England States where a large percentage of the North of Ireland Dissenters had made their home. Bishop Carroll leaves it on evidence in his account of a tour he made to Boston after the war that things were much changed from anti-Revolution times, when in Boston so benighted were the fanatics, descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers, that rather than meet a Papist on the street they would cross to the other side as if he were a leper or unclean person. This change was mainly brought about by the mixing of every denomination in the war, by the powerful aid that came from France and Spain, and from the influence some wealthy Catholic patriots had; and the great financial help in the crisis, such as the Carrolls, the Lynches, Fitzsimons, Moylans, not to mention the noble Poles and many French aristocrats who aided the cause of American liberty. But above all the bitter feeling against Catholics was stamped out by the personal influence and

example of the Commander-in-Chief. Merit, not religion, was the test to power and promotion in Washington's army, and merit he always applauded and rewarded no matter to what country or religion its possessor belonged. Whilst always professing his own belief he was by word and act conciliatory to all, and he had service read in camp where convenient on all Sundays. He himself when there was no other than a Presbyterian minister available at Morristown attended and communicated at the service. In this he was like our late King Edward, most obliging, and we may say there was a good deal of elasticity in his conscience about creeds and denominations. His great virtue was tact. He knew how the Irishmen loved their nation and their National Apostle, and it was his general instruction to the troops to have St. Patrick's Day free for rejoicing. He on one occasion gave them an address in which he eulogises the Irish Volunteers for bringing about the abolition of the Test Act (this was prior to 1782). He praised their great countryman, Grattan, for his defence of liberty, and he mentions some of the Irish grievances which the band of patriots, with Grattan as leader were trying to remedy. He moreover acknowledges his indebtedness to the sons of Ireland in the war for American liberty and hopes that while the Hibernians are having their toasts and jollifications they will not be unmindful of their suffering countrymen at home. As pointed out elsewhere in this volume, though the Irish Catholics were less numerous at the beginning of the war in America than those of other denominations from Ireland yet they were everywhere in the fighting line. We are told that Lord Moira took over from Cork almost 1,500 South of Ireland Catholics against their will, recruited and driven on board the ship that lay at Cork to transport them over to the American War. These soldiers in large numbers deserted and joined the American ranks.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE CONFEDERATION: FEDERAL CONVENTION AND
CONSTITUTION: THE FIRST PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, from his retreat in Mount Vernon, could not be indifferent to the welfare of the thirteen States and the manner in which they worked together in the interest of the nation as a whole. It soon became patent to him that the different States were dropping into selfish grooves, that the patriotic spirit that moved them and united them during the war was being replaced by a localized patriotism. When peace was signed in 1783 there were State and national debts to be paid. The monies borrowed at the foreign courts remained a national charge, the debts due to Loyalists, whose property had been confiscated in the war, was clamant, and the boundary question in the North-West and the disbanding of the forts in English possession were still unsettled or neglected by the contracting parties.

Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, was impotent. They had not sufficient powers to enforce the will of the *sanior pars* of the nation; they had no power from their Confederacy to impose and collect taxes, to carry out the Treaty of Peace and keep faith and credit with foreign powers.

The Confederation Congress had dwindled so much towards the beginning of 1786 that often a quorum of representatives was lacking. The leading men of the country were at home engaged in local State affairs, or like Washington, enjoying a well-earned repose after a strenuous Revolution. There seemed to be a general stagnation coming over the land at this time and far-seeing statesmen amongst them became alarmed that the fruits of their arduous toils in the cause of liberty would become clogged

and blurred, and their Union and national existence threatened for want of a strong central authority to legislate for the nation and protect them. It was no easy matter to rouse the different States to a sense of the danger. The fear of establishing a power outside the State and in part independent of it, to legislate and enforce law, was antagonistic to the extreme radical and independent spirit of the lately-liberated colonies. Their isolated position from want of communication and means of transit, as well as their local prejudices and jealousies and their dread of a power over them similar to what England enjoyed in colonial days, kept the States apart and made them look more and more to their own State and its Constitution and less to a central government whose existence the less thinking majority could see very little necessity for.

Washington and the leading men of the nation saw that if there was to be stability for their Union and permanency for their liberties, and if the blood and sacrifice for freedom was not in vain, there must be a firm and strong central government embracing the entire Union. Congress, acting under the old Confederacy in force from 1776, was unable to raise a dollar in taxation, although by the Articles agreed to, it could declare war for protection or in the interest of the Union. It was impotent to regulate commerce and tariff. In fine, it could legislate by way of recommendation, but had no power to compel an individual State to carry out its laws.

Washington was truly pained and alarmed that his life-work in liberating his country might become a dead letter and that the good name of their beloved Republic might become a by-word for impotency among the nations. He feared that if things were longer allowed to drift the Confederacy would for all practical purposes be dissolved and they should anew drop into thirteen independent, isolated, disunited States under their own Governor and Constitution without any strong central link, any power above and

over all able to unite them, protect them and safeguard them against foreign or domestic enemies. At this juncture we find Washington coming forth from his sylvan retreat, and buckling on the armour anew and with pen and voice doing a giant's part to rouse up the slumbering embers of patriotism and unite the nation with a view to end the indifference to the common weal, and so building up a strong Federal Government, moulding and forming a Constitution that would be permanent and make their nation respected and great and powerful amongst the powers of the world.

At this time he wrote to a friend thus: "The Confederation appears to me to be little better than a shadow, and Congress a nugatory body. Is it not extraordinary that we should confederate as a nation and yet be afraid to give the rulers of the Confederacy, who are our creatures, sufficient powers to order and direct the affairs of our country? By such a policy we are descending from the high plane on which we stood among the nations."

Again, writing to John Jay, he says: "Our affairs seem to lead to some crisis. I am uneasy and apprehensive now more than during the war. Then we had a fixed object and believed firmly in the justice of our cause. The case is now different, all is confusion and darkness. Experience has taught us that men will not adopt and carry into execution measures best calculated for their own good without the intervention of strong executive coercive powers. I do not perceive how we can long exist as a nation without some central power over all, which will pervade the entire Union in as energetic a manner as the State governments extend over the separate States. What a triumph for our enemies would it not be to find that we are incapable of governing ourselves. Would to God wise measures may be taken to avert the coming calamity to our country."

We know how he soon found himself once more launched into the vortex as Chairman of Convention in Conciliation Hall in Philadelphia, and finally as President for eight years,

although such a public career was far from his mind and disagreeable to his tastes for calm and peace and social and rural enjoyments. In one of those patriotic letters which roused the nation at this time, he says, after bewailing the want of public spirit in the nation: "Yet having happily assisted in bringing the ship to port, it is not my business at my time of life to embark anew on the sea of troubles."

National patriotism soon became too strong for the States to remain inactive and by the end of May, 1787, delegates from the thirteen colonies met in Convention in the capital of the nation to revise the old Articles of Confederation that did their service in their day and with efficiency during the war when the patriotism of the nation was powerful; but which in times of peace and calm after the Treaty, proved wholly inadequate to make them one people, free, prosperous and happy. The State of Virginia sent Washington as chief amongst their delegates to this National Convention, and though he had in the most public manner resolved not to enter public life, he could not refuse the call of his country in the crisis that was upon them. He knew what the sacrifice meant and he truly divine: "That it would sweep him back into the tide of public affairs when retirement and ease was so much desired by him and so essentially necessary." It was not until the 25th of May that sufficient delegates were assembled to form a quorum. By the unanimous vote of the delegates Washington was called to the chair. The Convention remained in session for almost five months, and sat from four to seven hours daily. The best talents and the noblest spirits of the country were amongst the Constitution builders. The position of Chairman restrained Washington from intervening in the debates, but his opinions, so widely known prior to the Convention, influenced and guided their decisions. Franklin, looking towards the President's chair on the last day of the session, wittingly remarked to a person next him: "I have often and often in the course of the session and the vicissitudes of

my hopes and fears as to its issue, looked at that sun behind the President without being able to tell whether it was rising or setting. At length I have the happiness to know it is a rising and not a setting sun."

Washington, after the Constitution was signed and submitted to the States for ratification, wrote thus to his friend, Lafayette: "It appears to me little short of a miracle that the delegates from so many States, different from each other in manners and circumstances and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government so little liable to well-founded objections." Again he says in same letter: "It will at least be a recommendation to the proposed Constitution that it is provided with more checks and barriers against the introduction of tyranny and those of such a nature less liable to be surmounted than any government hitherto instituted among mortals." Whilst the Constitution was being ratified by the different States Legislatures over the Union, none were more active and powerful in expounding and explaining the advantages of the new Articles or proposed Constitution than the true and tried soldiers and statesmen of the Revolution.

Every circumstance and every pen and voice over the Union, now that the time had arrived for selecting a Chief Magistrate or President for the new government, pointed to Washington, and again we see him denying himself and putting himself in the hands of his countrymen to serve the nation and help to build up their new Constitution and place their Republic on the road to happiness and prosperity. THE old Continental Congress now disappears to make room for the new Government under the Constitution. By the unanimous vote of the electors of the Union Washington was elected as President. J. Adams received the greatest number of votes for Vice-President for a term of four years. The names of President and Vice-President at first were voted for together; later they were voted for separately.

New York was selected as the place where the new Government should assemble. The old City Hall was repaired and fitted up as a Federal Hall, and March 4th, 1789, was appointed as the day on which the inauguration ceremony should take place. It was 21st April before the Vice-President was sworn in and took the chair as President of the Senate. He reached New York after receiving congratulations *en route* and amid much pomp and official display.

Washington, after his notification at Mount Vernon of the high honour conferred on him by his countrymen, set out for the seat of government accompanied by soldiers from the chief cities. Everywhere along the route crowds of girls and women, dressed in white, carrying wreaths, lined the way; triumphal arches, addresses, odes, and every public manifestation of honour and joyous greeting met him along the entire journey. On the 30th April he was formally installed. In the address delivered in the Senate Chamber on this occasion, in presence of both Houses of Congress, he said:—

“ The circumstances under which I now meet you will acquit me from entering into that subject further than to refer you to the great constitutional charter under which we are assembled and which in defining your powers designates the objects to which your attention is to be given. It will be more consistent with those circumstances and far more congenial with the feelings which actuate me, to substitute in place of a recommendation of particular measures the tribute that is due to the rectitude, the talents, and the patriotism that adorn the characters selected to advise and adopt them. In these honourable qualifications I behold the surest pledges, that as on one side no local prejudices or party animosities will misdirect the comprehensive and equal eye which ought to watch over this great assemblage of communities and interests, so on another that the foundations of our national policy will be laid in pure and immutable principles of private morality, and the pre-eminence of

a free Government be exemplified by all the attributes which can win the affections of its citizens and command the respect of the world.

“ I dwell on this prospect with every satisfaction which an ardent love for my country can inspire, since there is no truth more thoroughly established than that there exists in the economy and course of nature, an indissoluble union between virtue and happiness, between duty and advantage, between the genuine maxims of an honest and magnanimous policy and the solid rewards of public prosperity and felicity; since we ought to be no less persuaded that the propitious smiles of Heaven can never be expected on a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which Heaven itself has ordained; and since the preservation of the sacred fire of liberty and the destiny of the Republican form of Government are justly considered as deeply, perhaps as finally, staked on the experiment entrusted to the hands of the American people.” He then alluded to the power left to Congress by the fifth article of the Constitution, whereby by two-thirds of the votes of Congress amendments or additions may be made to the Constitution. In this matter he trusts to their wisdom and discernment. He renounces all claims for compensation during his term in office except for actual expenses for the public good, and finally adds: “ I will now for the present take my leave of you by invoking the benign Parent of the human race in humble supplication that since He has been pleased to favour the American people with opportunities for deliberating in perfect tranquillity and dispositions for deciding with unanimity on a form of government for the security of the Union and the advancement of their happiness, so His Divine blessing may be equally conspicuous in the enlarged views, the temperate consultations and the wise measures on which the success of the Government must depend.”

Congress after this admirable address proceeded to St. Paul's Church for thanksgiving. The Bishop of New York

was nominated one of the chaplains to Congress, and on this occasion read prayers suitable to so solemn an inauguration. Thus ended the inauguration ceremony of the new American Government, under the wise and fatherly conduct of Washington. Thus was ushered forth on its new course the United Republic which was destined to become the greatest and most prosperous nation on earth.

Now that Washington had met Congress and had in person delivered his inaugural address, which was duly answered by the Senate and House of Representatives, it will be opportune to notice the practical way the Government set about to render their operations effective. According to the written Constitution there should be three branches of the Government—

1st. The executive department, consisting of President and assistants or cabinet. At first the House of Representatives only advised the President to call to his aid three secretaries, viz., the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and the Secretary of War and the Navy, to which was added the Postmaster-General.

2nd. The legislative branch, which consisted of the two houses of Congress which had been duly elected by the voice of the States.

3rd. The judicial department, which consisted of a supreme circuit and district courts over which presided a Chief Justice and five Associate Judges. To these were soon added an Attorney-General.

It became the duty of the President to fill up the positions defined by the Legislature and to the positions of advisers he appointed Alexander Hamilton Secretary to the Treasury, by far the most important position in the Cabinet, considering the critical position of the finance of the nation. His choice was judicious, for of all the clever men called to govern and help in building up the Constitution, Hamilton, by the verdict of history, stands in the first rank. He called to the position of Secretary of Foreign Affairs and

Home Secretary Thomas Jefferson, then Ambassador at Paris, and although Jefferson was an extreme " Galloman " and in many things antagonistic to the President, we can see the wisdom and foresight of Washington well illustrated by calling to his side one who was so well versed in foreign and European affairs, one who would in his representative capacity allay suspicions of the fairmindedness of the appointments among the State sovereignty section of the nation.

To the position of Secretary of War General Knox of Revolution fame was appointed. Knox was a brave soldier and a loyal friend of the President. The work of Secretary of War for the time being was little more than nominal, as the standing army at this time would be less than the number of police we have on duty in our large cities. However, Congress, by articles contained in the Constitution, had sufficient power to suppress rebellion, repel invasion and preserve order. The Constitution declares it has " power to declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, make rules concerning captures by land and sea, raise and support armies, provide for and maintain a fleet, make regulations for land and sea forces, provide for calling forth the militia, to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions, to provide for organising, arming and disciplining the militia."

You have in above the nucleus of a strong central government, and time has proved the strength of the war department.

Washington added to the above Samuel Osgood as Postmaster-General. He nominated for the federal judiciary John Jay as Chief Justice. Jay was a man of many parts. As a diplomat he was in the first rank, as a statesman he was capable of occupying any position under the Executive, but his great talent and retiring manner, as well as his personal leanings, marked him out for the function of head of the judiciary department. Under him were placed as cir-

cuit judges John Rutledge, William Cushing, James Wilson, and Robert H. Harrison, men who deserved well of their country. This department or branch of government was to act as a general Court of Appeal and had exclusive jurisdiction over all controversies of a civil nature, wherein a State became a party, except in suits by a single State against one or more of its citizens. It had exclusive rights in all suits against ambassadors, or public ministers, or officials. This Supreme Court was to sit at certain times of the year at the seat of government, as might be determined by Congress. Federal Courts were also established in each State subject to the Supreme Court.

Washington was a practical President and stood above party influence. The secretaries were his servants. They had charge under the President of Departments of State. In after years they came to be recognised as the Cabinet, and as the work of government became more ponderous they were increased and are still increasing in most well-regulated nations. Fifty years after Washington's time we find eight members in the Cabinet. In the first stages of government under the Constitution the President from time to time consulted his ministers and learned of them the real position of affairs in each department. At first it was a custom with Congress to call into their assembly one of the Secretaries when information was required about his department, but they had no *locus standi* in the Legislature. The Secretary to the Treasury, for example, might supply Congress with facts and estimates and foreshadow the requirements of the nation, but the Government Budget was not his work but that of the House of Representatives. The Cabinet had no authorization from the Constitution and they were solely responsible for their official acts to the President who appointed them and could alone dismiss them. Congress could not remove any official in or outside the Cabinet. The constitution is so framed in regard to the different branches of the Legislature that no one branch is supreme or en-

tirely independent. The Executive and the Congress are responsible to the Judiciary, which in turn is responsible to the people, the final court of appeal.

The duties devolving on the President were numerous, and when we consider how conscientious, how punctilious, and how obliging Washington always was, the duties of his position must have been onerous in the extreme. He was the servant of the nation. Every Tuesday evening, from three to four o'clock, he gave a public reception. Strangers were introduced by the secretary. Dr. Sullivan gives us a picture of Washington at home in his official residence at New York at this time which is most interesting:—

“ He received visitors in the old-fashioned dining-room, which was about thirty feet in length. All the seats were removed from this unregal apartment, and before the fireplace facing the door, so as to see each visitor as he entered, stood the President, clad in black velvet, his hair in full dress, powdered, and gathered behind in a large silk bag; yellow gloves on his hands, holding a cocked hat, with a cockade in it, and the edges adorned with a black feather about an inch deep. He wore knee and shoe buckles, and a long sword, with a finely-wrought and polished steel hilt, which appeared at the left hip, the coat worn over the sword, so that the belt and the part below the fold of the coat behind were in view. The scabbard was white polished leather. Each visitor was introduced to him by name unless he knew them previously. He received each one with a dignified bow, so as to politely indicate that hand-shaking was not part of the ceremony.”

To-day the President allows the handshaking ceremony to every stranger, so that often on public occasions many thousands daily shake hands with the President. Roosevelt grasped with a grip of iron the hands of all that approached him. As visitors came in they formed a circle round the room. At a quarter past three the ceremony of reception commenced and the door was closed for further entrances

that day. He began from the right end of the circle, spoke a few friendly words and passed along. When he had completed the circuit he resumed his former position at the end of the room. Each visitor approached him in succession, bowed and retired. The writer remembers his reception by Roosevelt, at which there was less formality. Each visitor took up whatever position in the Blue Room he wished. Some sat, others stood. The President came in most unceremoniously and passed among the visitors, spoke to each individual and shook the hand of each. When your interview was over you immediately departed without more ado.

Mrs. Washington had a reception every Friday evening, at which the President was always present. He did not consider himself visited on these occasions. He wore ordinary plain dress; he had neither belt nor sword. It was his custom on these evenings to move about and converse among the visitors. The young ladies loved to draw the President into conversation and often they flattered themselves that they were favourites, but they were incapable by their witcheries to cause him to soften his countenance or change his habitual gravity.

On Sunday the President and his family ceased from their ordinary round of duties. In the morning he went to church service and in the evening there were devotions in his own private room. Once in each fortnight he gave an official dinner. Foreign ministers, officers of Government, and other distinguished strangers were welcomed to the President's table. On these occasions there was neither ostentation nor restraint. Simplicity in the host and ease on the part of the guests were the order of the day.

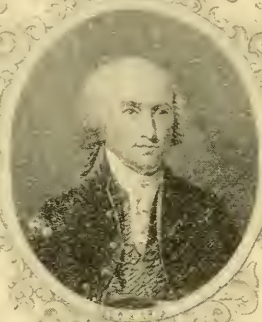
Although the order and ceremony habitual to Washington were natural considering how much a little ostentation adds to the dignity of office and the respect due to authority, there were, however, critics, such as the extreme Democrats—whose leader was Thomas Jefferson—who considered that both Washington and Adams were copying too much



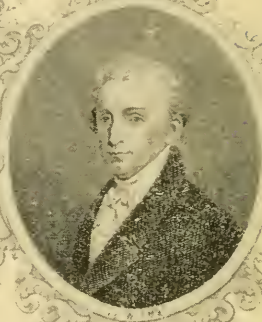
JOHN ADAMS



THOMAS JEFFERSON



JAMES MADISON



JAMES MONROE



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

regal patterns and court display as practised at St. James's and Westminster. Hence arose another source of complaint against the Federalists, who included the larger part of the wealthy and commercial men of the Union, especially in the chief cities. These men approved of Washington's great dignity in office. Washington had been brought up in such surroundings by contact with the Governor's court in Virginia; hence we find him entering the Federal Hall of New York drawn in a coach with six horses, and on ordinary occasions he used four horses in his carriage. When walking the street he was followed by a man in livery. In addition he allowed his birthday to be feted as do our sovereigns. The anti-Federalists complained of all this pomp; they wanted their President to be a plain man. Hence we find Jefferson, the third President, riding to the seat of Government on the day of his inauguration on a horse in plain dress. He tied the horse to a tree and walked in to take the oath. Here we have the opposite extreme.

There was much constructive legislation to be performed by Congress before the Government could settle down to the general work of the Federal Union. The officials necessary for government had to be nominated and created, their salaries fixed and their duties defined. There was no money to pay salaries of Congressmen and Executive and Judiciary; Ambassadors at many foreign courts had to be financed. A system then had to be constructed by which revenue might be raised for the urgent needs of Government and ways and means had to be devised for imposing taxation and collecting revenue for the expenses of Government. In all this preliminary work devolving on the Legislature the President was merely an interested spectator. It was his to execute with precision and efficiency when the Legislature had formulated the laws and regulations and obtained the seal of the President. It is not necessary to specify in minute detail all the work performed by Congress during the first term of Washington in the chair. We will, however, give

the leading features of the work of government in these four years. Most important work it was. It was the work that gave stability to the Union, work that helped to heal the wounds of the nation, as yet bleeding from the ravages of war. It was work, too, which cemented the States by adding twelve new articles to the Constitution, articles which might be considered a digest from two hundred and one objections made by the States individually prior to ratifying the Constitution in their Legislatures on the condition that according to article five of the Constitution their objections might be discussed anew in Congress and incorporated in the Federal chart when voted for by three-fourths of the Congress. These amendments were adopted in 1791, and can be seen in the amended Constitution articles. They include a Bill of Rights, among other things, viz., the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, trial by jury, freedom of speech and Press, the right of public meeting and petition to Government for redress of grievances.

The revenue question was of first importance, hence a National Bank was voted to be opened under State control. There was much opposition to this measure, but it was carried in Congress after a good deal of criticism. It was considered a good constructive policy. It brought under the influence of the central power the men of wealth in the nation; it gave security to the Federation that capital could be procurable on emergency. By issuing shares for the Bank over the Union men of means and divergent interests were brought into touch with each other and with the Government. At this time the sale of Western lands was rapid, prosperity and immigration caused expansion, and in one year over five million dollars were gathered into the Exchequer from sale of virgin tracts of unreclaimed lands. Congress had power to establish new States as soon as they were of sufficient importance to form State Legislatures acceptable to the Federal Government and promised alle-

giance to the Union. Hence Vermont, formerly a district belonging to New York State, was federated in 1791, and Kentucky, originally claimed and ceded up by Virginia, was made an independent State of the Union in 1792.

Early in the Presidency of Washington a resolution was brought before Congress to fix a site for a permanent residence for the general Government of the United States at some place convenient and near the centre of wealth and population. This subject of a Congress House occupied a good amount of time in discussing and gave rise to much party and personal bitterness. The Northern and Southern States could not agree nor could either see eye to eye with the middle States. The site of government was more important then than it would be to-day, when railways and steamships and telephone and telegraphs make a thousand miles apart as convenient as a hundred was in Washington's time. This matter was eventually settled by way of a compromise after the return of Jefferson to assume his work in the Cabinet. Washington besought the Secretary, Jefferson, to effect a compromise between the Opposition and Hamilton, who was endeavouring to pass a constructive Bill in Congress whereby the Federal Government might assume the debts of the individual States as well as the Federal debt contracted during the war and accumulating from unpaid interest under the Confederation. The site of Congress was finally selected on the banks of the Potomac river in territory ceded to the Federal Government by Maryland and Virginia. The present Government buildings and the beautiful Federal city commenced to rise during this first term of Washington.

The most serious constructive work of the Government was how best to place the financial status of the Federal Government on a solid basis. Until foreign nations could satisfy themselves that the new Republic could carry out the Treaty of 1783, whereby the Union was pledged to repay France and Holland and Spain the loans obtained

during the Revolution, amounting at this time to near twelve million dollars, little confidence would be placed in the new Government. There were domestic debts due to individual creditors in the United States for loans to Government; then there were debts or compensation due to Tories and others who were neutrals during the war. The domestic debts have roughly been computed at forty-two million dollars. The State debts contracted by the separate States, for works of defence, for provisions and bounties, and pay to the troops raised during the war and other contributions taxed on them during the war, amounted to 24 million dollars, half of which was made up of accumulated interest. Hamilton conceived a plan to build up the credit of the nation and to indemnify foreign and home creditors. He met his chief opposition on that part of the scheme which advocated the assumption of the State debts by the Government. His plan was to build up the internal credit of the nation and make the central authority responsible. This scheme was conceived by Hamilton with wonderful foresight and clear understanding in money matters. He held that the only way to gain credit to the nation was by paying honest debts. His ambition was to make the central power in the union stronger and stronger, to give the Federal authority more and more taxing power and by so doing clipping the wings of the States. The anti-Federalists strongly opposed him in the assumption of the State debts, but as Washington and Adams were with Hamilton in his plan of finance, through the influence of Jefferson, the Secretary to the Treasury's policy was legalised by Congress and became law. It proved the salvation of the credit of the Union and was the means of obliterating the nation's debt in a very short time. The protective impost on exports and imports, the tax on tonnage of vessels, the new Bank, with a capital of 10 million dollars, part owned by Government and part subscribed for by 20,000 shareholders, established the credit of the nation beyond all danger.

Washington when opening Congress on 25th October,

1791, was able to compliment the nation and Congress on the prosperity of the whole country and the success of the measures of the administration. In reference to the frontier wars with the Red Men, which unhappily were constantly being waged across the Ohio, he advocated a system of treatment towards the aborigines corresponding with the mild principles of religion and philanthropy towards an enlightened race of men whose happiness depends on the conduct of the United States. Such a policy he considered sound as well as just.

About this time, 1792, the census of the Union was taken and the population was computed at 3,929,827 souls.

Washington throughout his term of office acted as a regulating force. He was the symbol of calmness and prudence. He steered the ship of state with even keel and with a firm hand. In his Cabinet he had faction among the four members; in fact, the party leaders were of his own household. Hamilton was Conservative in his turn of mind. He loved English institutions; he was inclined for unification over the Union and supremacy in the central Government. He was a strong Federalist and anti-Democrat. He had his antithesis in Jefferson, and in Jefferson's case there was a tinge of jealous rivalry and personal hate engendered by Hamilton's success and from the confidence Washington reposed in him. Jefferson was the father of the Democratic party, a "Galloman" by predilection and an anti-Federalist, not because he was against the Constitution, but because he advocated a strict and limited power to Federal Government. He was a State sovereignty man.

Washington was the only man who could hold together spirits so divergent and maintain their obedience and confidence and the confidence of the nation.

During the first term of office the President made a circuit of the State when Congress was on vacation, and everywhere he passed he was received by acclamation from the people, and from none more than the old veterans of the Revolution who fought under him and adored him.

CHAPTER XXV.

WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM AS PRESIDENT (1793 TO 1797).

It was Washington's personal wish that he should not be asked to serve a second term as Chief Magistrate. He desired to allay the suspicions of those who feared the life-long succession of the President. These men were led by Jefferson. But Jefferson, although an extreme Democrat, was a loyal lover of his country. He believed that no other than Washington could at that juncture keep the nation united, keep it from disruption and anarchy. Hamilton and Knox joined with the Foreign Secretary in their earnest appeal that Washington should consent to a second term as the executive head of State. Washington consented, with the sole desire before him "to promote and secure attachment to their Constitution over the Union and for securing this end to carefully cultivate harmony and stability in the public Councils."

The second Presidential election took place on December the 5th, 1792, and George Washington was unanimously re-appointed to the Chief Magistracy of the Union. The Vice-President, John Adams, was favoured with a majority of votes for President of the Senate, but he was met over the Union at the polls by great opposition. The Federalists and anti-Federalists fought over the Vice-President's election on party lines. They opposed the policy of Knox at the War Office and drew up resolutions condemning Hamilton's policy of pursuing the assumption of State debts. This conduct of the Opposition led to the resignation of both Cabinet Ministers early in the second term of Washington's administration.

The inauguration of the President for his second term of office was less formal and demonstrative than in '89. Washington presented himself on the 4th March in the

Senate Chamber, in which were the heads of Departments of State, the Corps Diplomatique, the President and members of Senate and many members of Congress. Judge Cushing administered the oath to him in the usual way. In a brief, formal speech the President acknowledged the high honour conferred upon him by the nation. No further ceremony was indulged in on the occasion.

These four years that the new Government was then entering upon were stormy years in the world's history. They were critical years for the Union and years that only the prudence and foresight of a Washington could have passed through without laying prostrate the young Republic of America just lifting up her head among the nations.

France was in the whirligig of the Revolution. The Reign of Terror had overthrown the monarchy in France and Louis XVI. was beheaded, His Most Christian Majesty, a friend to American liberty as true as he was a hater of their British rival. America and France were allies in war and they were friends after the treaty of peace. France looked to the United States for support and for a continued alliance, even though the Sovereign had been dethroned and rebellion against lawful authority held sway. Nay, the French people lighted the lamp of liberty at the flames of the American Revolution. Americans were proud that they acted as a beacon light to set aglow the latent and pent-up material in France, taking for a motto, "Civil and religious liberty and fraternity and brotherhood." But sane Federal America was not so enthusiastic in their cause as to imagine that Robespierre and Marat were suitable agents to work a nation's regeneration. They could not shut their eyes to the enormities and excesses almost too incredible for the sober pen of history to record. The American people respected the Divine law and believed in a Deity. In their Constitution all religions were respected; ministers of every creed were given a home and liberty on their free shore. The reasoning part of this heroic Republic could not endorse

the policy of France, although there were many "Gallo-men" who sympathised with the efforts of the revolutionists to establish government and liberty of a kind out of the chaos of the destructionists' policy. Some, like Jefferson, lovers of France from association and hate for England, hoped for better things in time for France and overlooked the excesses of their young men who were the dictators in 1793 in France. The Federalists in America had no hopes that any good could arise out of such a bloody career as the French Revolution had entered upon, and they would have nothing to do with the Sans Culottes. The time was now at hand when Americans must decide their policy as regards continental affairs, as France and England had declared war against each other in 1793. Washington did not delay long in defining the course the United States would follow. Accordingly, on April 22nd, 1793, he issued a proclamation after a consultation with his secretaries forbidding the citizens of the American States to take part in any hostilities on the seas and warning them against carrying to the belligerents any articles deemed contraband according to the modern usages of war. He forbade all acts and proceedings inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards both parties at war. This proclamation caused much ill-feeling towards the United States among the revolutionists. They expected aid and practical support from America in their struggle with their common enemy, England. They argued that the alliance entered into in 1778, when France joined hands and made common cause with the States, to mutually and continuously fight shoulder to shoulder until war should cease and the colonies be free. America contended that this compact ceased when the Treaty of Peace was signed in 1783. France held that it was still in force. Neutrality with foreign Powers in their wars, alliance for commercial purposes, was the policy of Washington; it is to-day the policy of the American nation. This policy gave Washington much trouble during

the coming years both from the " Gallomen " in the States and from the emissaries of the revolutionists and their agent in America, Citizen Genet, who at this time came over as Foreign Ambassador to America to elicit sympathy and aid for the Convention. The opinion of the American Government, a most Christian opinion, is well expressed by Alexander Hamilton. " It cannot be without danger and inconvenience," he says, " to our interests to impress on the nations of Europe an idea that we are accredited by the same spirit which has for some time past fatally misguided the measures of those who conduct the affairs of France and sullied a cause once glorious and that might have been triumphant. The cause of France is compared with that of America during its late revolution. Would to heaven that the comparison were just. Would that we could discern in the mirror of French affairs the same decorum, the same gravity, the same order, the same dignity, the same solemnity which distinguished the cause of the American Revolution. Clouds and darkness would not then rest on the issue as they now do. I own I do not like the comparison when I contemplate the horrid and systematic massacre of the 2nd and 3rd of September, when I observe that a Marat and a Robespierre, the notorious prompters of these bloody scenes, sit triumphantly in the Convention and take a conspicuous part in its measures, that an attempt to bring the assassins to justice has been obliged to be abandoned. When I see an unfortunate prince whose reign was a continued demonstration of the goodness and benevolence of his heart, of his attachment to the people of whom he was monarch (who, though educated in the lap of despotism, gave proofs that he was not an enemy of liberty), brought precipitately and ignominiously to the block without any substantial proof of guilt, without even an authentic exhibition of motives in decent regard to the opinions of mankind--when I find the doctrines of Atheism openly advanced in the Convention and heard with loud applause; when I

see the sword of fanaticism extended to force a political creed upon citizens, who were invited to submit to the arms of France as the harbingers of liberty; when I behold the hand of rapacity outstretched to frustrate and ravish the monuments of religious worship, erected by those citizens and their ancestors; when I perceive passive tumult and violence usurping those seats where reason and civil deliberation ought to preside, I acknowledge that I am glad to believe there is no real resemblance between what was the cause of America and what is the cause of France, that the difference is no less great than that between liberty and licentiousness. I regret whatever has a tendency to confound them, and I feel anxious as an American that the ebullitions of inconsiderate men among us may not tend to involve our reputation in the issue."

There were two important events at this time in connection with foreign and diplomatic affairs that rendered the American situation critical in the extreme notwithstanding the attitude of neutrality taken up by Washington, viz., the despatch of John Jay to London to arrange matters of dispute between England and America and to make some terms agreeable to both nations regarding commerce. We will consider Jay's mission first and its effects on the mission and cause Citizen Genet was advocating. Jay's treaty, as it was called, was signed on November 19th, 1794, and ratified in Congress by the Senate, all but the 12th article, which related to the direct trade with the British West Indies, on June 17th, 1795. This treaty, although not a very good bargain for America, was the best that could be effected at the time, and it was such as England prior to 1789 would never have signed. Hence it showed how the Federal Government had raised the status of the United States among the Powers. Without this treaty, war and piracy between England and America would have been interminable. America wanted peace with the "lion of the seas" even at a sacrifice of minor points. Private claims

unsettled on both sides since 1783 were re-opened and adjusted by a commission. The Western forts which were to be in possession of America, viz., posts with garrisons on Lakes Michigan, Erie, Oswego and Niagara, and the St. Lawrence were up to this held fortified by the British. By Jay's treaty they were given up to the United States. The old Confederacy failed from want of power to fulfil its monetary part of the Treaty of Peace as regards Loyalists' property confiscated. This treaty opened up freedom to America to trade with the Indians and adjusted finally the boundaries along the upper parts of the Mississippi between United States and Canada.

The ratification of the Treaty aroused bitter wrangling in both Houses of Congress, and as the Treaty dealt with monetary matters of Federal interest a dispute similar to one which occupied the Commons and country some year past arose about the respective rights of each House of Congress in fiscal matters. The Representatives contended that the Senate could not refuse its assent to the Treaty on financial grounds since questions of appropriating money were part of the functions of the Lower House. The question of acceptance of the Treaty was debated by Congress for two months, and all that time arguments, eloquent and of deep interest, were used in the Assembly, viz., was the Senate bound to accept a Treaty when ratified by their Foreign Minister? This Treaty was negotiated by Jay with instructions received from the President alone. He did not, as is the custom, consult the Senate owing to the difficulty that existed for expedition.

At this time another historic pioneer territory was raised to the dignity of a State and admitted to the Union, Tennessee, formerly part of the western lands of North Carolina.

We need not labour the question to show how this Treaty of 1794 raised up all the party hate that was in the States against England, nor dwell on the fact that the authors and

abettors of the Treaty were publicly hooted. Even Washington, who defended his minister and approved of the Treaty, met with much criticism from the Press and on platforms. The Genet party was getting strong and the agents of the Directory were everywhere to be met over the States. Many of the papers and magazines were edited by Frenchmen, and the "Gallomen" were loud in their denunciation of the commercial alliance with England.

It will be interesting to know what Washington thought of this Treaty which caused him so much vexation and opposition. He says: "It was not altogether what he wished nor what he hoped for, but he was convinced that more favourable terms could not then be obtained, and they had no alternative." Time has justified the wisdom of Washington and proved how effective for peace and prosperity the Treaty proved. It more than fulfilled the expectations of its friends; it saved the country from war, and improved commerce. Washington at this time, writing to Governor Morris, then in London, said that "by a firm adhesion to principles and to the neutral policy which has been adopted towards European wars, I have brought on myself a torrent of abuse in the factious papers of this country, and the enmity of the discontented of all descriptions. But having no sinister motive in view, I shall not be diverted from my course by these agencies. I have nothing to fear in the discharge of my duty from invective. The acts of my administration will appear when I am no more, and the candid part of mankind will not condemn me without referring to those records."

As the policy adopted by Washington towards England had much to do with forming the Gallomanic coalition against the President, we will subjoin an extract from a letter of his to Mr. Monroe, who was appointed Ambassador to the French Court. Monroe was a firm believer in the French cause, hence the wisdom of his appointment at a time when America was suspected by the Directory of

France. "I always wished well to the French Revolution, and it has always been my decided opinion that no nation had a right to intermeddle in the internal affairs of another, that everyone had a right to form and live under the Government they liked best. When we as a nation can consistently with honour preserve neutrality it is our duty, our interest and our policy, situated as we are, and already deeply in debt and in a convalescent state. These are our sentiments and policy towards France and we are uninfluenced in any way by our treaty or other considerations by England."

Monroe was graciously received in Paris by the representatives of the Revolution and in a most gracious manner he recognised the young Republic. By some, especially those of strong neutral leaning at home, the Ambassador was thought to have exceeded the bounds of prudence in his relations with the successors of Marat and Terrorists.

Citizen Genet when he arrived in America as the accredited Ambassador of the French Republic, then at war with England, took the opportunity of the enthusiasm of the Americans on receiving him to elicit their aid and co-operation in the interests of his country; hence he fitted out frigates and manned them with American seamen to capture British merchant vessels trading along the American and West Indian shore. He organised a band of soldiers among the brave Kentuckian settlers, and found willing recruits in those hardy pioneers. Washington through his secretary forbade Genet to exceed the limits of his jurisdiction and ordered him to cease his acts, which violated the proclamation of neutrality. Genet defied the President and openly stirred up sedition against the Government, and at once Washington ordered him to depart their shores and wrote to the French for his formal withdrawal. Genet disappeared from this time from the diplomatic service. He did not leave America. He married a Miss Clinton, daughter of Governor Clinton, of New York, and ended his days in the States. He was a brilliant and brave, but impetuous,

Frenchman, who at many foreign courts in the reign of Louis did good diplomatic service for his king and country. He was an ardent Republican.

The neutral policy adopted by Washington saved the States from the ravages of European wars, but it was a policy that gave the Federal Government much trouble to carry out. France was in need of money and provisions, and the Directory had two eyes—an official and an unofficial one. With the official eye she kept up the *sémbulance* of honest dealing with foreign Powers, but when their seamen were capturing and plundering the merchant vessels of America, the hungry Directory winked at their depredations. It is said that as many as a thousand American ships were robbed or sunk by French pirate vessels in the Revolution crisis. America to defend herself equipped a fleet and retaliated, and soon ended the invasion of their coasts by French raiders. To show the insolence of the French towards America, it may be here incidentally mentioned that early in the reign of Adams, or just when Washington retired, the Directory demanded immediate payment of all outstanding debts and a loan as well as a gift of money from America. The reply was: "Millions for defence; not one farthing for tribute." Washington in his retirement was called upon to assume command of the army of the States in preparation for expected war with France. He answered the call of his countrymen and prepared for the invasion. But at this time Napoleon became the real head of France, a better understanding was arrived at between the two Republics, and Washington's services were not required.

We need not further dwell on the home policy and legislation of Washington's administration than to refer to his humane treatment of the Indians. He had been forced during his term of office to defend by arms the settlers on the borders. The Redman had grievances against the settlers, real grievances. The uncivilised aborigines were

treated with unkindness and cruelty by the frontier men, and as the nation expanded the Indians were driven back and butchered and robbed. Washington had to maintain order as head of the Executive, and when he had brought peace to the frontiers he enacted laws between traders and Indians—laws for just dealing, laws for punishing white man and red man with equal severity for violating the Federal laws. Traders were ordered to take out licences for dealing with the Indians, and all lands that Indians ceded to the settlers were to be paid for.

Well and wisely did Washington preside for eight years over the destinies of his native land as he bravely and fearlessly for eight years led them in battle to victory. As a statesman and nation-builder he will live in history, and his words and acts and example have been followed and copied and imitated down the generations by his successors. He is truly immortal in the eyes of all patriotic Americans, and his good works and example have lived after him until the present day.

In the farewell address to the nation, published at the end of his second term as President, in the beginning of 1797, we summarise the following nine paragraphs as principles set forth in a document of almost twenty pages—a kind of valedictory address from the father of his country to his children of the United States—and which principles he strongly urges his children to preserve and cherish as the bedrock maxims of the perpetuity of the Republic. He begins this address by telling them that he would never have set a precedent for a second term of office in his person had not foreign affairs been perplexing and in a critical condition owing to French revolution and European wars, and because the voice of his Cabinet and of the nation demanded of him such a sacrifice, and in conclusion he publicly avows that neither ambition nor interest impelled him in his public actions in a life forty-five years of which were dedicated to the service of his country.

1. Unity of government is the main pillar in the edifice of your independence. It is the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity.

2. Avoid overgrown military establishments, which are so particularly inauspicious to Republican liberty (French Revolution).

3. Respect the authority of the Constitution; comply with its laws; acquiesce in its measures. These are fundamental maxims of true liberty.

4. The mischievous spirit of Party and innovation and change should be discouraged by a wise people as tending to distract public counsel and enfeeble public administration and create a species of tyranny in opposition to the true spirit of liberty.

5. Religion and morality are indispensable supports to public prosperity and are the firmest pillars of human happiness in the State.

6. Promote as of primary importance institutions for the diffusion of knowledge among the people, as enlightened public opinion is essential for good government. Hence, educate the masses.

7. Cherish public credit; observe good faith, and act justly towards all nations.

8. The great rule of conduct for America in regard to foreign nations is, whilst extending our commercial relations in peaceful channels, to have as little political connection with foreign Powers as possible.

9. 'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world. It is not to be expected, nor should we calculate on real favours from one nation towards another.

Comment on above principles are unnecessary. They have been firmly adhered to by Presidents and statesmen with much fidelity since the days of Washington in governing and guiding the Republic.

John Adams, his successor in the President's chair, wrote him at the time the French Directory insulted and sent home their Ambassadors and demanded tribute in cash from Congress. Adams, acting on the dictum of Washington, "that the best way to ensure peace was to be always ready for war," asked him to become Commander-in-Chief of the Forces and to organise the army. We will give the reply in extenso:—

" Mount Vernon,

" July 4th, 1798.

" To J. ADAMS, President of U.S.

" Dear Sir—Not being in the habit since my return to private life of sending regularly to the P.O., nine miles from here, every post day, it often happens that letters to me are longer there than otherwise they should be.

" I reciprocate your polite and flattering sentiments to myself, and I assure you, as far as in my power, I am prepared to support your administration and to make your term of office easy and happy and honourable.

" I had no conception at the time of my retirement that there was any probability of an invasion of these States by any European Power. But this seems to be an age of wonders, and it is reserved for intoxicated France, for purposes of Providence far beyond the reach of human ken, to slaughter her own citizens and to disturb the peace of the world besides.

" In case of actual invasion by a foreign force I certainly should not entrench myself under cover of age or retirement if my services should be required by my country to assist in repelling the enemy. And if there be good cause, which must be better known to the Government than to a private citizen, to expect such an event, delay in preparing for it might be dangerous, improper, and not to be justified by prudence. The uncertainty, however, of the event, in my mind, creates my embarrassment, for I cannot fancy,

regardless as the French are of treaties and of the laws of nations, and capable as I conceive them to be of any species of despotism and imposture, that they will attempt to invade this country after such a uniform and equivocal expression of the sense of the people in all parts to oppose them with their lives and fortunes. They have been led to believe by their agents and partisans amongst us that we are a divided people, that a part are opposed to their own Government, and that a show of a small force would occasion a revolt. I have no doubt, however, the folly of the Directory in such an attempt would, I conceive, be more conspicuous, if possible, than their wickedness. Having with candour made this disclosure of the state of my mind it remains only that I should add that if imperious circumstances could induce me to renounce the smooth paths of retirement for the thorny ways of public life, at a period, too, when repose is most congenial to nature and in a calm indispensable to contemplation, it would be productive of sensations which can be more easily conceived than expressed."

In conclusion he advises the President to have recourse to the tried and trusted Generals of the late army for leaders and officers to drill and organise the new army.

"Great circumspection," he adds, "should be used in appointing the General Staff. In this I give you a decided opinion, as it is of the utmost importance to the public, to the army and to the officers commanding it. If this corps is not composed of respectable characters who have knowledge of the duties of their respective departments, and are active and firm men of integrity and prudence, such as the Commander-in-Chief can place confidence, his plans and movements may be thwarted and impeded.

"You will excuse the liberty I have taken in thus speaking so freely, and believe me, yours, etc.,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

At the same time as the above letter was sent to the President, the Secretary of War, James McHenry—(by the way, McHenry was an Irishman of Ulster descent)—was written to by Washington. He tells him that it might be inexpedient to make him Commander-in-Chief considering the fact that the French were generalled by very young men—Napoleon at this time was about thirty years old. He insisted on the necessity of having men of integrity and grit, men of tried ability and experience, to fill the higher positions in the army. He adds: “I am not prompted by motives of ambition to embark at the call of the President and country again to enter the theatre of so arduous and responsible duties.” He said that at his time of life, when the effects of an arduous life prompts retirement, his sentiments can only be imagined at the prospect of starting anew upon the boundless field of public action, incessant trouble and high responsibility. It was not possible for him to remain ignorant of or indifferent to recent transactions. The conduct of the Directory of France towards their country, their insidious hostilities to our Government and their many endeavours to withdraw the affections of our people from their country’s cause, the evident tendency of their acts and those of their agents to violate the clear principles of the law of nations. “They warred upon our defenceless commerce,” he wrote, “they rejected our ministers, they, in a word, demanded of us tribute. Such conduct towards our common country could not excite other than sentiments of aversion and resentment in my breast. Satisfied that you have sincerely wished to avoid war and that you have exhausted the last drop of reconciliation, we can with pure hearts appeal to heaven for the justice of our cause, trusting to that kind Providence which has heretofore favoured the people of the United States. With much deliberation I have resolved to accept the position of Commander-in-Chief, with a reserve that I shall not be called to take active command until the situation requires

it and the matter becomes from the circumstances pressing. Of course I will give my attention and aid and advice in arranging and organising the regiments. I will just add that I decline to accept any remuneration for my services except actual expenses."

It was his wish that Generals Morgan and Lee and Colonels Marshall and Carrington should have command under him. Of course, as mentioned above, circumstances did not require the presence of the Commander in action. The invasion did not come off, but these letters will show the sterling character and true patriotism of the man. He during life carried out the motto which ruled him:—"I believe that man was not designed by the all-wise Creator to live for himself alone."

From a letter addressed some time before his death to Mrs. Fairfax, an old friend of his and his family in early days, we can glean the sentiments that possessed him in retirement and the manner in which he spent his time at Mount Vernon. He writes her:

"Before the war and even while it existed, although I was eight years from home at one stretch, except the *en passant* visits made to it on my march to and from the siege of Yorktown. I have made some addition since my residence here to my dwelling-house and alterations in my office, houses and gardens, which the dilapidations occurring by lapse of time and my absence occasioned. This work has occupied me much during the past twelve months." Again he tells her:—"A century hence, if this country keep united, will produce a city, though not so large as London yet of a magnitude inferior to few European cities, on the banks of the Potomac, where one is now being established for the seat of government of the United States. It is beautifully situated between Alexandria and Georgetown in Maryland. For commanding prospect, good water, salubrious air and safe harbour not excelled by any in the world." In conclusion he says:—"At the age of 65 I am now recom-

mening my agricultural pursuits, which were always more congenial to me than the noise and bustle of public employment."

This letter gives a picture of Washington written by himself, and lets us see him in retirement, as he was occupied up to the day of his death.

CHAPTER XXVI.

DEATH AND BURIAL OF WASHINGTON.—CHARACTERISTICS.— HIS PLACE IN HISTORY.

ON the 12th day of December, 1799, Washington rode out to his farm and came back from superintending some work at 3 P.M. On his return he wrote some letters, but did not post them, owing to the inclemency of the weather and the length of journey his servant would have to reach the office. On the 13th December he complained of a cold he had contracted the previous day, yet this did not prevent him from walking out to attend to some tree marking on his property. That same evening the cold became worse, and he complained of a hoarseness. Yet he was able to engage in reading some journals, and chatted with those around him. At 2 or 3 o'clock P.M. Mrs. Washington considered it wise to call in his old friend and family doctor, Dr. Craik. It was evident to those around that he was very unwell, and, as was customary in those days and common practice as a remedy, he was bled with leeches, but without any good result. On Saturday he said to his secretary, Mr. Lear: "I find I am going. My breath cannot last long. I believed from the first that this would be fatal. Do you arrange my late military papers; arrange also my accounts and letters and books." To an attendant by him he said: "I am afraid I shall fatigue you too much." And again he said: "Well, it is a debt we must pay each other, and I

hope when your time comes you will find similar aid." To the doctor he said: "Doctor, I die hard, but I am not afraid to die. I believed from my first attack that I should not last long." Again to his physicians he said: "I feel myself going. I thank you for your attendance. I pray you to take no more trouble about me. Let me go off quietly. I cannot last long."

He breathed his last at between 10 and 11 o'clock on Sunday morning, the 14th December, and was buried on the 18th, amid the sorrow and grief of the American nation and the mourning and regret of the entire civilised world.

The Senators of Congress, writing to John Adams, President of the Republic, on receipt of the sad news, said:

"Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On such an occasion it is manly to weep. Our country mourns a father. God has taken from us our greatest benefactor.

"With patriotic pride we review the life of Washington and compare him with those of other countries who have been pre-eminent in fame. Ancient and modern times are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have been too often allied, but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyers of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues.

"The scene is closed, and we are no longer anxious lest misfortune should sully his glory. He has deposited his weight of honour and glory in safety where misfortune cannot tarnish it nor malice blast it. Favoured of heaven, he departed without exhibiting the weakness of humanity. Magnanimous in death, the darkness of the grave could not obscure his brightness.

"Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example. Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic General, the patriotic statesman and the virtuous sage."

Charles Macay, in his "History of the United States," writes thus of this event which so profoundly moved the American people: "America may well mourn over Wash-

ington—her solitary hero truly—but one of the very rarest and noblest mould. Once or twice in the ancient heathen ages there had passed over the scene a character which foreshadowed, though but dimly, such an embodiment of pure patriotism. Yet they cannot be placed in the same class with him; whilst in recent times, not as a patriot, but even as a man, he stands almost without a rival and certainly in prominence of glory alone. Such are the qualities on which the fame of Washington is built that they have made him not merely for the U.S. but for every land, both with citizen and rulers, the ideal of human excellence. Were an augury of future glory desired by the lovers of a nation in any clime, no happier one could be found than this, that the planting and nurturing by its freedom should be entrusted to the hands of one like him."

Brownson has left us some sage and Christian principles which may be appropriately quoted when considering the characteristics of Washington. "Prudence," he says, "is a virtue, rashness is a sin, but my own reason and experience have taught me that truth is a far more trustworthy support than the best devised schemes of human policy. Honesty is the best policy. Be honest with thyself, be honest with all the world, be true to thy convictions, be faithful to what truth teaches thee, be it ever so little, and never dream of supplying its defects by acuteness or craft." The above principle would seem to have guided Washington in every stage of his illustrious career.

Roosevelt speaking of greatness somewhere says:—"Eminent men ought to be viewed in the light of history and the effects that their lives and actions and statesmanship had on their nation. Prominent characters are epoch-making. No greater blessing can be bestowed on a nation than virtuous and wise rulers. Wicked, reckless rulers are in like degree a curse to their age. In estimating the position in the niche of fame of eminent men one should not make their calculations from the amount of talents they

possessed—John Wilkes was as talented as Junius—nor from the dazzling grandness of their actions—Napoleon in such a light has no equal in history—but rather let us estimate them by the moral influence of their lives and the degree in which they succeeded or failed to accomplish the good placed within their reach.” Again he says:—“The great man is always the man of mighty effort and usually the man whom guiding need has trained to mighty effort.” Finally he remarks:—“The men who have made our national greatness are those who have faced danger and overcome it, who met difficulties and surmounted them.” Of Washington he said:—“Take away the factor Washington out of the American side in the Revolution and it is impossible to conceive American success.” Truly this is a unique eulogy of our hero coming from one of his most distinguished successors in the office of President one hundred years later.

Roosevelt compares America's two greatest sons thus:—“Lincoln in the nineteenth century showed a greater Americanism as head of the Republic than Washington.” And in sterling worth and patriotism he looks upon them as equal in merit. “Neither,” he adds, “were men of transcendent ability, but both were notable for sterling merit and honesty of purpose. America trusted both. Both were self-denying, unambitious, earnest and persevering in their integrity and high moral qualities.”

The policy of Washington, as we view his administration when Chief Magistrate, was to make America independent in thought and action. He opposed a wholesale colonizing of American territory by foreigners. He opposed importing a foreign staff of professors to teach the rising generation. He would have immigrants become assimilated with their institutions—in a word, Americanised. He worked day and night to lay the foundations of a great empire. He opposed localising and encouraged nationalising. The moral and intellectual upbuilding of the nation were his ideals more

than its material prosperity. He would have the moral and material go hand-in-hand in his ideal America. He was strongly opposed to young Americans of fortune roaming abroad for education and knowledge, and in this connexion we append here an extract from his will, wherein he left large legacies for founding a National University at the seat of Government:—

“ It has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education often before their minds are formed or they have imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting too frequently not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to Republican Government and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which in after life are rarely overcome. Looking forward to the time when a University may be established in a central position in the United States to which youth of fortune and talent may resort for the completion of their education, become attached to their own country and its laws and institutions and form friendships in youthful days that may foster a wider and broader love of nationhood and eradicate sectionalism and localism, so prejudicial to nationality and unity.”

Although he was reserved in manner, as a good father he never kept silent when the public good demanded plain speaking. He was most decided in all matters when his mind was convinced. Some critics—and he has had severe critics, like all public characters—have asserted that he never initiated a policy nor imposed new ideas on his own responsibility when President of the Republic, and that it was easy for evil advisers to impose upon him. Jefferson, in a fit of party spleen, has most inconsistently made the above assertion in different words. If one means by new ideas, erratic and novel ideas, and if none possess genius but the erratic, or that none can stamp their personality on an administration or point the way in legislation, but he

who is irascible, who rules with the iron hand and hacks and cuts the disorder and canker like one who mows down noxious weeds with a reaping-hook, then Washington was neither a great statesman nor a wise ruler. Washington's genius was of a methodic order; his was a well-balanced mind. He was prudent and cautious and difficult to deceive. In all his appointments for public offices he was invariably right. See how in his first Cabinet he gathered around him the very best genius that could be secured, and in selecting his Generals and Staff in the war he was rarely wrong. Arnold and Charles Lee were Generals of his own choice, and the only two that proved traitors to the cause. He selected them for their undoubted military genius, and it would have taken a kind of second sight to divine their characters as men. Both were men of good social position and varied literary ability, and even King Adolphus of Sweden did not consider it beneath him to associate with the soldier of fortune, Charles Lee.

Washington, as we saw in speaking of his civil administration, sought no united Cabinet, according to our modern ideas of harmony, as a pivot of statecraft. In fact, he did not by the Constitution require to consult the Cabinet, which were merely secretaries of departments. He asked no suppression of sentiment nor concealment of opinions. He exhibited no mean jealousy of high talents in others. He gathered around him the greatest public men of the nation, specialists in their own departments. He consulted the best advice within his reach, and after weighing the pros and cons with his calm, impartial mind he judged according to the dictates of his conscience.

Washington surpasses most characters known to history in his persevering patriotism in his country's cause. His was a strenuous life. He lived in an age in his country's history the most momentous in its annals. Yet never once did he repine at the call of duty, never once turn a deaf ear to the bugle-call of his country's need. Never to his



RESIDENCE AND TOMB OF WA SHINGTON, MOUNT VERNON.
On the Potomac.

latest day did he murmur at the half century given to humanity and to his native land. How different were the sentiments of Demosthenes, who put a soul of fire into his countrymen by his oratory, and when in prison just before he poisoned himself expressed himself thus to some young men who came to visit him:—"Meddle not with State affairs. Had I at first had two courses proposed to me in youth, one leading direct to the Forum and the Assembly and the other leading to destruction, and had I foreseen the many evils attending those who deal in public affairs, such as fears, envies, jealousies, calumnies and contentions, I would certainly have chosen that which would have led me straight to death." And Danton, that man of truly gigantic parts, the real statesman among a swarm of fanatics in the Reign of Terror, and the real author of the revolutionary and insurrectionary edicts in the first stages of the crisis, when passing from the public stage to the scaffold as a holocaust to faction, said: "Better for me I had never reached to fame." The regret of Danton was the regret of tens of thousands in the days of Washington, in the public arena of the French Revolution.

One who knew General Washington intimately, one who sat by his side as Secretary of State for five years, speaks of him thus:—"He was slow in operation but sure in conclusion. He planned his battles judiciously. He was incapable of fear, meeting personal dangers with the calmest unconcern. Perhaps the strongest feature in his character was prudence. He never acted in doubtful circumstances, but when his mind was decided he went straight forward, no matter what obstacles opposed, his integrity was pure, his justice inflexible, and no circumstances of consanguinity or friendship could bias his decision. His temper was naturally irascible, but well disciplined. In a word, he was a wise, a good, and a great man."

Frederick the Great had a wonderful admiration for him after his retreat over the Jerseys and his victory at Trenton,

his escape to Princeton and battle and victory there, and finally his going out from Philadelphia to face the conquering army of Howe coming in victorious. He said: "It is impossible to conquer such an army led by such a General. The greatest soldier of his own or any age."

Lord Byron was also a great admirer of the Columbian hero. He calls Napoleon "The fool of false dominion and a kind of bastard Cæsar, following him of old with steps unequal." But of Washington he speaks:—

"Can tyrant but by tyrant conquered be,
And freedom find no champion and no child
Such as Columbia saw arise when she
Sprang forth a Pallas armed and undefiled,
Or must such minds be moulded in the wilds,
Deep in impruned forest 'midst the roar
Of cataracts where nursing nature smiled
On infant Washington? Has earth no more
Such seeds within her breast or Europe such a shore?"

Washington as General was kind and considerate for his army; never sacrificed life unnecessarily. Lafayette, when twitted regarding him with the fact that he never won any great battles, said: "No, sir, he conquered the entire British forces, the most powerful ever hitherto sent across the ocean, by skirmishes, flank attacks and hanging on the rear and outposts of the enemy." He was not a General of the Napoleon type to rush his army over burning deserts, across bridges or into death traps in the teeth of the enemy's artillery and grape shot, to be mowed down like glistening corn before the reaper, or to perish by hunger and frost, etc. He was on occasions fearless of danger in his own person, as we have seen, but never sacrificed his men by reckless Generalship.

Mr. Cooper King, in a short history of the Army and Navy of the Revolution, gives an excellent appreciation of Washington, a summary of which may here be given: "Washington

made the loose bones, so to speak, of the State militia into an army. He maintained and sustained the war when less devoted hearts than his would have grown faint. He fostered the French Alliance when none but he fully appreciated its enormous value. He formed and governed the constitution of his country and gave it time to breathe and invigorate itself.

“ Without being a great General he was the only one on the American side who had gauged the materials with which he had to work. He and Greene and Lafayette were possibly the only leaders who gauged the military situation in all its parts and therefore won substantial successes. His policy never failed. He only failed to reap rich results when he listened to advice different from his own. He had the peculiar advantage—an English virtue by the way—of never knowing when he was beaten and his motto, a family one, was ‘ hope against hope and try, try, try again,’ one, by the way, which most great men find unerring in achieving success. He had the genius of all great men, a peculiar facility of infusing his own spirit into his army. His personal influence was very great with his soldiers as well as with the civil authority which he never disobeyed. It was his personal appeals that roused the dying patriotism of Congress in the early Eighties that found out the source of their finance, Robert Morris. He it was that sent Laurens to Louis and spurred on Franklin to send home the sinews of war to start the allied forces on their last campaign to Yorktown and victory.”

It is interesting to read how changed is the note sounded by modern English writers and in fact by the English statesmen and people generally in regard to Washington. We saw how the present government honoured Washington a short time ago in the city of London by erecting a monument to his memory. After this fashion speaks one, Mr. Belcher, a writer of anti-American prejudices, but who has

been so far just to the memory of the immortal Washington as to speak of him in these words :

“ Washington stands aloof. Of him it borders on presumption to say he is in the sense a John the Baptist of America, true to his trust, with a miraculous gift of self-effacement, unswerving in his ideals, making the path of the great nation straight, without professional education, without even much elementary education, his youthful time spent in the wild west of his own province, a boy warrior like Clive or Hannibal, but unlike them in this that he fought neither for aggrandizement nor empire. One of those men whom one might, without irreverence, call divine; the instrument of a Divine purpose chosen to lay stronger and better foundations than he knew.”

Robertson, in his pen-pictures of great men among the Presidents of America, thus writes of Washington: “ He can never be equalled because he lived in an age that can never return, and circumstances gave him opportunities for exertions that no man ever had before or can have after him. He was a warrior raised up for the peculiar struggle of the Revolution. His was a personality to inspire soldier and statesman with confidence in his capacity and wisdom. He was born to deliver his country from tyranny, to lead her as a statesman to a high position among the nations. He was unmoved by the shock of party and silent 'midst the denunciations of demagogues. He read men with great sagacity and selected his officers for their talents and probity. He was seldom wrong in his judgments. He may have erred in judgments, but he never committed foolish acts. He was truly the father of his country.”

We may conclude this chapter by letting two brilliant writers, representing two continents, speak—one a Frenchman, the other an American. The Marquis De Costellux was a great admirer of Washington's, like many noble Frenchmen, from the days of the American war. The Marquis

was on friendly relations with the General and enjoyed his company as his guest whilst on a friendly visit with the French army in America. He wrote: "The strangest characteristic of this remarkable man is the perfect union which reigns between his physical and moral qualities which compose the individual. One alone will suffice to enable you to judge of all the rest. If you were presented with a medal of Cæsar or Trojan or Alexander, on examining their features, you will be led to ask what was their stature or the form of their persons, but if you discover in a heap of ruins the head or the limb of an antique Apollo be not curious about the other parts, but rest assured they will all be conformable to those of the god. Let not this comparison be attributed to enthusiasm which rather would reject it since the effect of proportion is to diminish the idea of greatness. Brave without temerity, laborious without ambition, generous without prodigality, noble without pride, virtuous without severity; he seems always to have confined himself within these limits where the virtues, by clothing themselves in more lively but more changeable and doubtful hue, may be mistaken for faults. This is the seventh year he has commanded (1782) the army and that he has obliged Congress; more need not be said, especially in America, where they know how to appreciate all the merit contained in this simple fact. Let it be repeated that Condé was intrepid, Turenne prudent, Eugene adroit. It is not thus that Washington will be characterized. It will be said of him at the end of a long civil war, he had nothing with which he could reproach himself. If anything can be more marvellous than this it is the unanimity of the public suffrages in his favour. Soldier, magistrate, people all love and admire him; all speak of him in terms of tenderness and admiration. Does there then exist a virtue capable of restraining the injustice of mankind, or are glory and happiness too recently established in America for envy to have deigned to pass the sentence?

“ In speaking of this perfect whole, of which General Washington was a type, I have not excluded exterior form. His stature was noble and lofty. He is well made and exactly proportioned, his physiognomy mild and agreeable, but such as to render it impossible to speak particularly of any feature. So that in quitting his presence you have only the recollection of a fine face. He has neither a grave nor a familiar air; his brow is sometimes marked with thought, but never with ineptitude; in inspiring respect he inspires confidence and his smile is always the smile of benevolence.

“ General in a Republic, he has not the stateliness of a Marshal of France who gives the order; a hero in a Republic, he excites another sort of respect which seems to spring from the sole idea that the safety of each single person is attached to his person.”

The Rev. Jesse T. Peck, of Boston, over sixty years ago, published a book on the American Republic, in which he extolled the first President in terms with which we are in complete accord :

“ Washington,” he said, “ at the conclusion of the war for Independence, had reached the highest degree of popular influence and power. He had with unaffected modesty and self-distrust occupied the position of the greatest responsibility and personal danger in the Revolution. No one knew better than he what must follow him if the colonies failed in their struggle, first for right and then for Independence.” Franklin willingly said of those embarked in the fight: “ We must all hang together or we will be hanged separately.” Humanly speaking, every circumstance told against success.

But the people had seen him move calmly into the field of danger. They had seen him inspiring old and young to join the standard of liberty. They saw the confused mass reduced to order and efficiency by the firmness of his command, the strength of military wisdom. They had seen him stand up in danger in the face of the enemy with colossal majesty when his feeble army was reduced by many

causes to vanishing point. They saw him great enough to retreat in the teeth of reproaches from his own countrymen when in truth an engagement would have imperilled his army and cause. They had seen him share with the soldiers their sufferings in hunger and weary marches. They had seen him struggle for the army when the poverty of the country deprived it of necessaries. They had seen him rise above all sections and petty jealousies and treasonable conspiracies when he had failed to accomplish the impossible. They had seen him in the might of his firm will punishing cowardice and treason until they dare not even whisper their discontents, and still the beloved of all. They had seen him just as calm and firm after defeat as after victory. They had seen him in strength move to and fro amid the perils of a camp for eight years and all too firmly refusing any pay, while looking for means and money from Congress for his army. Finally, they had seen him on his knees in prayer to God.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FRENCH REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

THE enmity which had long subsisted between the powers of England and France was not likely to be lessened by the conspicuous part which the latter acted when the ambitious King of England invaded American rights and vainly opposed the united will of a people struggling to be free. The happy effects of the American Revolution were felt throughout the globe and over the waves of the Atlantic to the Old World was wafted the spirit of liberty which tyrants have combated but never can subdue, to quote Teeling in his history of the Irish Rebellion. The Right Honourable Thomas Erskine, the celebrated constitutional lawyer and a Lord Chancellor of England, in a debate on Earl Grey's motion for Parlia-

mentary Reform in making an appeal on behalf of Ireland, referred to "that system of coercion which drove America to rebellion and into the arms of France and which is driving Ireland at the point of the bayonet into insurrection." "Such a system of terror and tyranny," he said, "as Ministers seem resolved to persevere in has made half Europe submit to the arms of France. The nations with which she contended had no privileges to fight for nor any governments worth preserving. Take warning from so many examples. The principles of revolution are eternal and universal."

When the Marquis De Lafayette, who gave the order to his citizen army, with twenty-eight thousand rifles in their hands, taken the night before from the Invalides to storm the Bastile, sent the key of that relic of feudalism to Washington, his old General, with the accompanying message: "As a tribute (the key of this captured fortress of despotism) which I owe you, as son to my father by adoption, as aide de camp to my General, as missionary of liberty to its patriarch." The messenger who carried this relic of the fortified dungeon, this prison which had held in terror evil-doers and immured in which many patriot hearts pined and hungered and died down the preceding centuries, on reaching his journey's end is said to have remarked: "I am happy in being the person through whom the Marquis has conveyed this easy trophy of the spoils of despotism—and the first ripe fruits of American principles transplanted to Europe—to his great master and patron." That the principles of America opened the Bastile is not to be doubted, and therefore the key came to the right place.

Washington, who was much interested in his late pupil and General, accepted the key with reverence. He wished well to the Revolution, conducted as it was in its initial stages on constitutional lines. He took it in the spirit in which it was given as a token of victory gained by liberty over despotism. He wrote thanking his young friend for the

prized gift and warned him to be careful on the hazardous journey he had set out upon as Commander of the Citizen Army, the nucleus of the National Guard of our day. He congratulated him on the conspicuous part he had taken and the successes he had achieved in the interests of liberty for the French nation.

From the authorities, who inform us of these circumstances, we are led to infer that the American Revolution was the chief, if not the only, cause of the French upheaval. Now students of history know that such an assumption is only partially true. There were numerous causes and circumstances moving openly and secretly, remotely and proximately, negatively and positively, foreign and domestic, to bring about this mighty conflagration. That the American war expedited and in some way immediately acted as an igniting power we cannot doubt. That the wood was gathering for the fire from many quarters and a-drying and seasoning prior to the advent of America on the scene is also certain. But America led the way in the van of liberty. She fought for her freedom and she conquered. French and American soldiers from their victory at Yorktown were friends and brothers, and a spirit of Independence did follow the fleets of De Grasse and the soldiers of Rochambeau across the Atlantic waters to *la belle France*. Young Lafayette, a noble of the first rank, spent several years in America, fighting for liberty, and when he went home in 1784 to his own country, he and Jefferson, the American Ambassador in Paris, formed a school of young men, officers, lawyers, litterateurs, philosophers. Ladies also joined their reunions and clubs, and it became the *mode* to discuss politics and enumerate principles and theories on governments, kings and rulers. The spirit spread by these clubs—known as the Breton Clubs—quite constitutional and well conducted, was Republican. There were extremists as there are in all movements. There were men like Paine and Jefferson, who would root up monarchy and wipe away all distinctions of

rank. There were the more constitutional members led by Lafayette and Mirabeau, Rochambeau, Bouille, Dumas and the Commanders in the army generally who would not level down everything to a dead level. In the French army none could be officers or commanders if not of aristocratic origin. This class, whilst enlightened in the school of liberty and superficially imbued with the teaching of Rousseau, Voltaire and Helvetius, were neither against monarchy nor nobility as such; they only advocated more of the elective element in the composition of the legislature. They considered that France was safer under a monarchy, with a king cribbed and clipped of his autocratic power, with a House of Peers after the Scotch system, with about a hundred in number elected by themselves and a House of Representatives similar to the American Congressmen. Such were some of the changes the leaders of the Revolution first aimed at. We know how this Patriot party agitated for a change of government and the difficulties of the Court party made it an easy matter for the *Tiers Etat* to gain the ascendancy. The Court of Louis was an intriguing, corrupt and expensive institution. Despotic as was that of his father Louis XV., a vicious old voluptuous man, ruled by a mistress of low birth, Louis XVI. was the antithesis of his father; he was virtuous, learned and wise, considering the wisdom of European monarchs of his day. George was mad; Paul I. also feeble. France, by her perpetual wars, was heavily in debt. The English and American wars had left the Exchequer completely drained. The people were taxed beyond endurance. New demands to meet the increasing expenditure of the Court were constantly coming up in every budget. Marie Antoinette was a most extravagant princess and Louis was too fond and indulgent to curtail her expenses or keep in check the despotism of the Court. The Duke of Orleans, the wealthy brother of Louis, was a bad man who, though without much mental ability, ambitioned to undermine and overthrow his brother, whether with the object of usurpation

or to sweep away the throne circumstances do not enable us to divine. The aristocratic party were unbending. The high ecclesiastics were equally averse to yield to the Bourgeoise, or to sit with them to deliberate about the affairs of the nation and mould a form of government that would neither be despotic or out of touch with the nation. The nation was ripe for reform and the ruling power would not bend nor listen to reason. We know the result as it appeared in the different stages of the Revolution. The Bastille was stormed without much bloodshed. The King was forced to come and live in Paris. He escaped and was captured. He was insulted in his palace in the Tuileries—made to don the Red Cap of the Revolution. He was despoiled of his Swiss Guard when the palace was rushed by a howling mob and his brave soldiers sabred in the very halls of the Royal residence. The King and Queen and family had to seek refuge in the Convention. The Jacobin clubs, successors of the old Breton club, were now universal over France, and all powerful and supreme. They called out for the deposition of the King. The Convention, practically a tool in the hands of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs, had to hand over the King a prisoner to the Insurrectionary authorities. Soon all the crowned heads of Europe were in an armed league against the French Republic and soon a million soldiers were in arms led by young French Generals, fired with revolutionary zeal, to meet north, south and east the enemy swarming in upon their borders. The prisons were filled with nobles, aristocratic suspects, King, prince, priest and all that were not clubite advocates. The King and Queen and many of the nobility soon ascended the guillotine. Amongst the first victims were two or three hundred priests who would not take the oath. Thousands of suspects, some of them boasting the best blood in France, perished miserably without the semblance of a trial. The Royal tombs were desecrated and pillaged for the treasures they contained and the dust of a venerable line of sovereigns

and princes scattered to the winds or emptied into the Seine. Atheism became the religion of the clubs. The creed of "No God, no hereafter" was adopted by the Republic, and a "Goddess of Reason" was raised upon an altar for the heathenish adulation of an intoxicated populace. Revolutionary tribunals were erected and Insurrectionary laws put in force. Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Cauthon, Sauterre and Saint Just, Hebert and such like fanatic Terrorists ruled and directed the whirlpool of the Reign of Terror. Each, however, in turn, like the Kilkenny cats, to be destroyed when faction turned against faction and fear caused the leaders to turn their swords in terror one against the other.

French arms in the field of battle were everywhere triumphant, but the nation was devastated. Liberty was not yet. The tyranny of the apostles of liberty was a greater despotism than France knew hitherto, but she had tumbled down the nobility. She had taught rulers and people the power of the democracy, roused to fury and awakened from its slumber of centuries. Then, as every student of history knows, a Cromwell arose in the person of Napoleon, made himself successively dictator and consul and finally had himself crowned by a successor of St. Peter and enthroned on the chair of the Bourbons and Capets.

France, in the Revolution had practically, in 1792, lost the sympathy of the civilized world. She stood alone after the dethronement and assassination of Louis and his fair spouse Marie Antoinette. The leaders, in the mad course which France had entered upon, became intoxicated with their success and their power. They soon perceived that every hand was turned against them and in turn they struck out to right and left against their real enemies in arms and against everyone, friend or foe, whom they suspected. "He that is not with me is against me" would seem to have been their motto under the Reign of Terror. The author of whatever was statesmanlike in the whirligig of the Revolution—Danton—in an address to the Convention, gives the motives

which actuated him in launching his cruel insurrectionary measures. "In times of tranquillity," he says, "society would prefer that the guilty should escape rather than that the innocent should be punished, because the guilty are then not so dangerous. But as danger increases society will become more implacable, and when danger becomes so imminent as to threaten destruction, suspicion is considered as a proof and all are regarded as criminals whose conduct is in any way equivocal. Such is the character of a dictatorship. It is rapid, arbitrary, indiscriminating, but irresistible." Robespierre said that the principle mode of operation in a democratic government, whilst gaining a firm footing, is through terror. "Boldness" was the watchword that Danton belched forth as the true means of success in Army and Convention. The chief causes that spurred on the Communes, Committees, Clubs and their leaders in the awful reign of Terror to seek speedy riddance of the suspects, traitors to the revolution, aristocrats and Royalists, were the temporary reverses on the frontiers sustained at the hands of the Austrians and Prussians, the intriguing of Pitt with the Vendéans and Brittany. It was thought that no success could be attained in their tumbling down policy until the last vestige of Bourbonism and clericalism was rooted up. "We must," says Danton, "make the Loyalists afraid of us." Money was necessary to feed the famishing *sans culottes*, to keep the armies and the host of commissioners in action, and pay the committees and the Bourgeoise militia who kept guard in Paris. Hence wealth was taxed; the property of those guillotined was confiscated, paper money issued in millions of francs, and the churches robbed over France of all their valuables, and plunder and spoils procured wherever the arms of the Revolution were successful.

One need not wonder that after war was proclaimed by the French insurrectionary party against England in 1793 and the Convention looking over the wide world could see no

nation that might befriend them but America, that Washington, appalled at the ocean of difficulties and troubles confronting this unfortunate nation, should, after mature deliberation, announce to the world his policy of neutrality and his friendliness commercially considered with both belligerents. His proclamation to the nation forbade the citizens of the United States to take part in any hostilities on the seas and warned them against carrying to belligerents any articles deemed contraband according to the usages of nations, or doing anything inconsistent with the duties of a friendly nation towards those in war. This proclamation was forwarded to the belligerents and published over the United States. This policy, enunciated now for the first time, of steering clear of, and keeping aloof from, European wars, was a bitter pill for France to swallow. It was reverently accepted at first by the States, bearing as it did the imprimatur of their revered President, but there was no act of his administration which tended more to launch him on the billowy waves of growing faction during the second term of his administration than this policy and his firm and unbending adhesion to it. The banishment of Lafayette and the beheading of Louis, the imprisonment and death or banishment of many eminent Frenchmen who had campaigned in America, but who did not see eye to eye with the Revolutionists, had steeled Washington in his resolves not to embroil his infant charge in these European convulsions. His aid could have availed little to France; it might have ruined America.

Washington's policy and sentiments were well known regarding the Revolution in France. He deplored the extremes to which factions had driven the nation. He wished well to the nation, though it was not the same nation that had once aided America. Men like Lafayette, Dumas, Bouille, Rochambeau, De Grasse and the rest were laid to the one side, and with the school of Robespierre and Marat and the other disciples of Rousseau who held the reins of

government he had no sympathy. Nor indeed had his more solid and sane fellow-countrymen much in common with them. Washington, from his high position, viewed the matter with a sagacity that divined the future, and his actions and policy were guided by true statesmanship. He was as one who stands on the sea-coast beside a mighty city in the midst of a fog that has hidden both land and sea from his view. Such a one hears sounds of fog horns at sea, shrills are frequent and the shrieks of befogged motors flying home to the city or coursing around in the darkness. So Washington in that crisis had nothing to guide him but shrieks and alarms. How the more serious minds in America viewed the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror might well be summed up in the eloquent words of Hamilton, Secretary to the Treasury under Washington, a constructive statesman of a conservative tendency and not without a fondness for English institutions. He says:

“ The cause of France bears no comparison with the cause of America in our late Revolution. Would to heaven we could discern in the mirror of French affairs the same decorum, the same gravity, the same order, the same dignity, the same solemnity that distinguished the cause of the American Revolution! When I contemplate the horrid and systematic massacres of the 2nd and 3rd of September, when I observe a Marat and a Robespierre sit triumphantly in the Convention, when I see the unfortunate prince whose reign was a continued demonstration of the goodness and benevolence of his heart, of his attachment to the people, who, though educated in the lap of despotism, had given repeated proofs that he was not an enemy of liberty, brought precipitately and ignominiously to the scaffold without any substantial proof of his guilt, without any authentic motives and without decent regard for the opinion of mankind; when I find the doctrines of atheism openly advanced in Convention and heard with loud applauses, when I see the sword of fanaticism extended to force a political creed upon citizens

who were invited to submit to the arms of France as the harbingers of liberty, when I behold the hand of rapacity outstretched to prostrate and ravish the monuments of religion erected by those citizens and their ancestors, when I perceive passion, tumult and violence usurping seats where reason and cool deliberation ought to preside, I am glad to believe that the cause of France is not the cause of America. I regret whatever has a tendency to confound them. I feel anxious that the ebullitions of inconsiderate men among us may not tend to involve us in the issue." Washington saw in this matter eye to eye with Hamilton. He saw a boundless sea of turmoil and anarchy whence no land was in view.

The bitterness of the Revolution party in France was extreme at this action of Washington, and advocates of the cause of France in both hemispheres considered his conduct as showing a leaning to England—led in this direction as they would make us believe by the monocratic, John Adams, President of the Senate. History has acquitted Washington of any error in this matter and views him at this juncture as the father of his country, saving America from herself.

Hilaire Belloc, in his life of Danton sums up the sane verdict of history in this connection better than Thiers, the historian of the Revolution. He says: "Another people—then in their infancy, now old—whom Louis had been persuaded to help against his will received the death of Louis like a kind of blow in the face. The people of the United States in their simplicity had imagined the French King to be their saviour; they did not know that Louis had said that he was dragged into espouse their cause. 'Advantage being taken of my youth.' They regarded his crown with a certain superstition as they still regard what is left of baubles in Europe, and when the axe fell upon him France lost not alone the calculating hypocrisy of Pitt, but the genuine sympathy of the American people."

Citizen Genet, a fiery Revolutionist, was sent out by the Revolutionists to represent them in America at the seat of Government. Like all the emissaries who went forth on missions from the Clubs and committees of Paris—the real seat of power in France at this time—he had exaggerated ideas of his powers and his watchword, as Danton enunciated it, was “boldness,” nay, “audacity.” Men like Marat, Danton and St. Just spoke boldly and announced most extreme insurrectionary views and propounded most cruel and aggressive measures, and their commissioners not alone carried out their doctrines to the letter, but as most inexperienced man, ambitious of pleasing their patrons and paymasters, they exceeded their briefs and were not over delicate about the mode of action. They were without diplomatic training, most imperious, inexperienced and, by education as well as training, ill-fitted for the work assigned them. Most of them were young men fired with enthusiasm in the cause of the Revolution. Their aim was to gain their end by fair or foul means, no matter how disagreeable their conduct might affect others. Citizen Genet was one of a class of agents used by the Committee of Public Safety with their auxiliary clubs whose powers express or implied were illimitable. They had powers to dictate to Generals at the front, depose, promote or thwart them at will. Every General led his army, prior to Napoleon’s advent, with the knowledge that victory meant honours; defeat led to the guillotine. The fate of Custine to-day might be that of others as brave and daring to-morrow.

Is it any wonder that Genet, such a typical agent of such insensate masters, should create so much turmoil among the American people and cause such vexation to Washington in his official capacity as Chief Magistrate? He acted when he arrived on American soil at Charleston, one hundred miles from Philadelphia, as if his powers were unlimited. In the ordinary course he should have directly presented himself before the President at Philadelphia and

had his commission and authority recognized. But no! No sooner was he on dry land than he proclaimed himself the Minister of the French Republic and began to enlist Americans and fit out cruisers to set out on hostile missions against English ships hovering around or merchant vessels trading to the West Indies. These agents of the Genet type were the real Terrorists in motion of the Revolution. They committed crimes on their presumed responsibility that condemned the Revolution in the eyes of all sane men, and in history have helped to blacken and degrade the French character and nation. Many of these agents are looked upon by history as lunatics let loose to destroy and devastate and pull down everything that the democracy and liberty might rise and rule. The wonder is that Genet did not commit himself more seriously in America, and that Washington did not sooner tie his hands. But he was bold, he was active, and he was not without previous diplomatic experience, and he was not without a host of sympathisers among the Republicans of America. A weak President might have ruined the infant Republic of America in the panic created by this bold emissary of France. The French saw how useful a fleet of American cruisers would have been against British fleets in the Western waters. Genet, aided by many sympathizing journals and some prominent Americans, pushed the cause of his country to the utmost limits. He was feasted and applauded wherever he went. The French flag and cockade and Red Cap of the Revolution, as well as Democratic clubs similar to the clubs of France, were everywhere in evidence. England, through her Minister, sent in strongly-worded protests to Washington about his seeming indifference to all these acts by sea and land in contravention of his neutral policy. America was beginning to get kicked and cuffed by both belligerents, but the end soon came. Washington, though worried to death, though caricatured and lampooned, though accused of ineptitude and leanings towards England, took firmly in his hands the

reins of government, and as head of the Executive refused to allow Americans to equip vessels for French service; refused to allow American ports to be ports of refuge to the belligerents after their depredations; put down the Democratic clubs, condemned the Frenchified magazines, and ordered home Genet as an unsuitable agent to America.

Thus by the bold, firm and far-seeing statesmanship of Washington, though at the temporary loss of his great popularity and peace of mind, he held firm to his policy of neutrality in all foreign wars and complications, and so for all time saved the American nation and allowed her peace to advance in wisdom, happiness and prosperity until to-day she is the mightiest power in the world.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WASHINGTON'S CONTEMPORARIES—FRANKLIN, JEFFERSON AND PAINE.

IN treating of Washington and his army and those who aided him under the directions of Congress to bring about the liberation of America, we cannot avoid reference to two men whose names are familiar to historical readers of this epoch, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine.

Franklin was born in Boston on the 6th of January, 1706, and died in Philadelphia in the year 1790. His father was a soap boiler and tallow chandler, and had seventeen children, of whom Benjamin was the youngest. At the age of ten he was apprenticed to his eldest brother in the printing trade, who treated him harshly. Soon we find him as a boy unfriended and with but one dollar in his pocket, commencing to earn his livelihood in Philadelphia. After working at the printing trade for a salary for a few years we find him setting out for London in the year 1725 when just nineteen years old, to purchase a plant for starting the

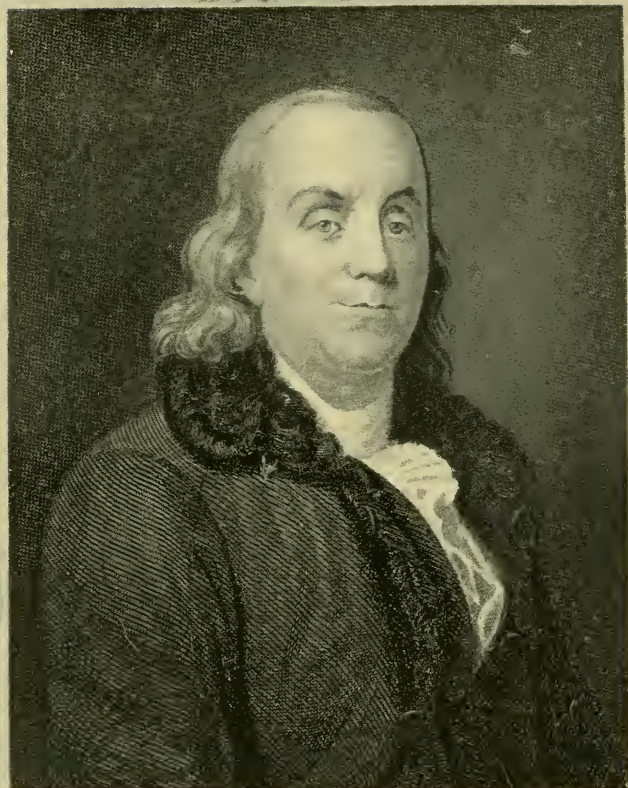
printing business on his own account. After working for some time at different occupations he commenced in 1729 to print and edit a magazine, and a year later he took to himself a wife. From the year 1732 till 1752 in the gazette, which he edited, appeared the famous sayings of "Poor Richard, or the Way to Wealth." These sayings have insured the lasting fame of Franklin as a philosopher and sage, were familiar in his own day to the rising generation of two continents, and many of them are household maxims of our time. Franklin might be classed as a great projector and patenter of many movements which later generations took up and carried to success. He advocated bills of Exchange in paper. He originated the first fire brigade service in America, projected the first American Academy, the nucleus of the present Pennsylvania University, advocated hospitals, and raised funds in his journal to build the first hospital in Philadelphia. He was a man of great industry, most regular in his habits, of great powers of perseverance, and had been from his earliest days a most assiduous student in the natural sciences. His name will go down in history, indissolubly linked with the earliest discoveries in the science of Electricity, in which branch of knowledge he was an experimenter and a discoverer. In the year 1752 he discovered the identity of Lightning and Electricity. It was he who invented the lightning-rod conductor for defending buildings. Sir George Trevelyan, in his history of the American Revolution, writes thus of Franklin, when he set sail in an American-built frigate for Paris as Commissioner: "His immense popularity was founded on a solid basis of admiration and esteem. The origin of his fame dated from a time which seemed fabulously distant to the existing generation (he was then 70 years). His qualities and accomplishments were genuine and unpretentious, and his services to the world were appreciated by high and low, rich and poor, in every country where men learned books or profited by the discoveries of science. His

' Poor Richard '—which expounded and elucidated a code of rules for the every-day conduct of life with sagacity that never failed and wit that very seldom missed the mark—had been thrice translated into French, had gone through many editions and had been recommended by priests and bishops for common use in their parishes and schools. As an experimentalist and investigator he was more widely known even than as an author, for he had always aimed at making natural philosophy the handmaid of material progress. He was looked upon as a public benefactor in every civilized community over the world." " His reputation," says Adams, " was more universal than Leibnitz or Newton; his name was familiar to government and people in foreign countries, to nobility, clergy, philosophers as well as to plebeians, to such a degree that there was scarcely a peasant or a citizen, a valet, coachman or footman, chambermaid or scullion who did not consider him a friend to humanity."

A French author is equally eulogistic of this wonderful man as his countryman John Adams: " His mission flattered all the bright and generous ideas which animated France. He caressed our happiest hopes, our most gilded chimeras. He came across the ocean to win liberty for his own country, and he brought liberty to us. He was the representative of a people still primitive. His creed was toleration and kindness of heart. France prostrated herself at the feet of a man who had no caprices, no passions. She made him the symbol and object of her adoration, and Franklin took rank above Voltaire and Rousseau by the side of Socrates." It was not to be wondered that such a man, with such a record, so famed the world over and so adored by the rising generation of France, should prove a Leviathan in Diplomacy; in fact he proved himself the greatest diplomat in his own or any age. Franklin, at seventy, had not been unused to appear at foreign courts. He had been sixteen years in England prior to the Revolution as agent for

the colonies. It was during those years that honours were showered upon him by the leading Universities of Great Britain and the French Academy of Science, and it was during those years that he learned how little knowledge and less consideration the English Parliament and nation had for the American colonies. When he failed to convince the King and his Cabinet that it was foolish to coerce or tyrannize over America he sailed back to his native America, threw off his coat at Boston and later at Philadelphia, in the Congress when Independence was proclaimed in 1776. In the autumn of the same year he left for France, and for many years until he signed the treaty of peace in 1783 he acted a giant's part in shipping men, money, arms and ammunition to enable the army under Washington to hunt for ever the English army from American shores. Wharton, in his "Digest of International Law," says: "Franklin's work as a diplomat endures to this hour, whilst the works of Talleyrand have long since perished. It was Franklin who introduced America on a footing of equality into the councils of Europe, and who, in a truer sense than Canning, called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old. His great achievement was the final settlement by treaty with Great Britain, a settlement which has been of the greatest benefit to both contracting parties and to civilization as a whole, and has been the least affected by the flow of time."

It may here be interesting to summarize what Franklin effected as diplomat or commissioner for his country and how he accomplished the work so eloquently attested to by Wharton. When Franklin sailed for France in the first American vessel that crossed the ocean with freight for Europe his fame had gone before him and his name, as we saw, was like a magic wand with the young intellectuals of France who had learned radicalism and revolutionary ideals in theory at the feet of Voltaire and Rousseau. Franklin's first move was to offer friendship and alliance on behalf of



FRANKLIN.

the United States to France and to Spain. The commissioners were not amiss in asking. They petitioned for 30,000 firelocks and bayonets and eight war frigates. The French King was courteous, but politely refused to enter into any negotiations that would endanger hostilities between His Britannic Majesty. However, secretly, France was disposed to encourage the Revolution, and Franklin had little trouble in bringing about an alliance for offensive and defensive purposes a year later. Seeing that Britain and France were at peace when Franklin arrived in Paris the English Cabinet, knowing the diplomatic worth of the wily American, remonstrated, and De Vergennes, Foreign Secretary, to quiet their fears, wrote their Ambassador in London, the Marquis De Noailles, that the old man was merely in their midst on philosophic enquiries, and that his time was spent harmlessly entertaining by his homely conversation his admirers, and that he did not interfere in State affairs. Little did they reckon how his time was really spent. He found American affairs worse than neglected by his predecessors at the European Courts. Lee and Deane and others had, through their want of diplomacy, estranged every court in Europe from their cause except France. To make the American cause respected was the work Franklin set himself to accomplish, and he succeeded in enlisting France, Spain and Holland actively with men and money and the two former by alliance on their side. He succeeded in keeping Frederic of Prussia neutral when the temptation was not wanting that he should be on the side of his old friends, the British, who befriended him in the Seven Years' War. The King of France, by the intrigues of Franklin's friend, Beaumarchais, and by the co-operation of De Vergennes, became an open friend of America. Even Queen Marie Antoinette, who so dearly loved the English, was converted to the American side, and Russia was held in check and at most took a negative part in the war. To complete the triumph of his mission in February, 1778, just one year after his

arrival in Paris, the Treaty sought for on his arrival was signed, which Treaty engaged France to commence an Alliance and Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States. Soon a fleet was fitted out and sailed for America, and thus the soldiers of Washington got protection by sea and land, and the powers of England were divided, protecting their fleet at sea, their colonial coast in the West Indies, warding off the attacks of naval heroes like Jones and Barry and Hopkins around the British Isles as well as along the American seaboards.

The amount of specie sent through Franklin's intervention by Louis and his government to aid the American cause has been computed at twenty-six million dollars.

The help given to the American patriots by Thomas Paine was mainly of a literary character, and his glory is somewhat dimmed by the part he played in the French Revolution when he became a mocking, impious atheist. We must however remember that in the life of this versatile man there were two or three epochs or stages of development. There was the period in his career when he was a young excise officer in his native England, where he was dismissed from his situation on account of some writings in which he attacked the corruption of the excise and revenue system of that time. Perhaps Philip Snowden to-day would defend in his place the action of Paine in 1774.

There is again the Thomas Paine who reached Philadelphia in the year 1775 when the Halls of Congress rang with the news of the battle of Bunker's Hill. When gloom sat on every brow at the war that seemed inevitable, it was Paine who, in the presence of Franklin, Dr. Rush, John Adams and Washington, pronounced the word Independence in reply to Franklin's question: "What is to be the end of all this? Is it to obtain justice of Great Britain to change the ministry to soften a tax, or is it——?" and here his voice failed him to pronounce the word which this lightly-built, sharp-witted, delicate-looking young man uttered.

Paine, introduced by Franklin to the delegates as an acquaintance whom he knew in England, thus addressed Congress: "These States of America must be independent of England; that is the only solution of the question." Although the doctrine was new and the assertion bold and as many thought premature, yet, with patriotic fire in the cause of liberty, he proceeded in his speech to picture the glorious destiny which America freed from England should reach, and he conjured them to lend a hand to wrest the Western Continent from the absurd and unnatural position of being governed by a small island three thousand miles away. When Paine ended his speech Washington is said to have leaped forward, to have taken both his hands in his and besought him to publish those views in a book. The pamphlet "Common Sense" was the result, written in 1775 and circulated over the thirteen States. This wonderful production acted like a clarion call to arms for all lovers of their country and was the means of arousing an enthusiasm in the breasts of the colonists which led to the proclamation of Independence in July, 1776. Dr. Rush, a Celtic American patriot who signed the Declaration, said: "That the book burst forth from the press with an effect that has been rarely produced by types and paper in any age or country." "I never," says General Lee, "saw so martially irresistible a performance. It will, if I mistake not, in concurrence with the transcendent folly and wickedness of the ministry, give the *coup de grace* to Great Britain."

Franklin had been editor of the *Pennsylvania Magazine* for many years, and as the Revolution required his time and energies in other directions he saw in Paine, although a penniless young man and (as far as our modern ideas about literary acquirements necessary for editorship) without a wide range of knowledge, a suitable substitute to edit the Revolution journal.

Whilst he was marching with the famished army of Washington across The Jerseys in the autumn of 1776 he wrote some of those articles which he published in pamphlet form and which electrified the thirteen States. In the pamphlet called the "Crisis" he poured forth the fire of his soul in the cause of liberty, and he was one of the chief factors at the time in rousing the nation, enthusing and consolidating them to unite and throw off for ever the shackles of English rule. The pamphlets "Crisis" and "Common Sense" were the fruits of his literary labours, and they were an apt illustration of the axiom that "the pen is mightier than the sword." He gave to the nation the watchword in the darkest hour of the crisis, "Victory or death," which acted on the army of Washington at Trenton like our war cry "Donnell Abou" in the days of Ireland's martial glory.

The secret of Paine's pen lay in his knowledge of human nature, his hitting right from his heart, with burning words which ran from camp to camp and State to State. He showed the nation how absurd it was to travel 3,000 or 4,000 miles to petition a people deaf to their appeals for justice. He adds: "The time for debate is past. America must in the last resource decide the contest: a new era for your liberties is struck, a new method of thinking has arisen." When crossing The Jerseys he sent broadcast the following words: "These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now deserves the best thanks of mankind. Tyranny," he adds, "like hell is not easily conquered, yet we have this consolation with us that the harder the conflict the more glorious the triumph." Trevelyan, after giving due praise to this scoffing infidel in the part his pen played in the war, writes: "It would be difficult to name any human composition which has had an effect at once so instant and so extended and so lasting." Three months from its publi-

cation 120,000 copies had been distributed. Even France and England bought it up largely, but although it had the largest sale in so short a time on record, it brought no profit to the author. Paine did not enrich himself by his American writings more than Washington as General or Franklin as Patriot-statesman and diplomat, each was prepared to risk all in the cause of his country. The strength and popularity of the writings of Paine were due to the fact that he wrote forcibly and what fitted the hour and the people, and he made his facts appeal to the head and heart of his readers. He wrote for plain men in desperate earnest and in great peril.

His pamphlets received a chorus of universal approbation from the friends of America. Of their effects Washington said: "They are making a powerful change in the minds of many young men," and their power is proved equally well by what the narrow-minded partisan Governor Bernard said: "Every dip of the pen of Paine was like a horned snake." The pity is that, outside the action of this author in connection with the American Revolution, the Christian historian must speak of his life in his later years with bated breath. He left America and cast in his lot with the Atheist revolutionists of France, became a mocking cynic, and materialist, and a hater of authority and power. His rank in history is beside Voltaire and Rousseau, but many rungs beneath them in ability, though not in hate of Christianity.

How well might the words be used in the pamphlets in defence of the American cause be applied to himself in later years: "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." To show how the mighty Paine had fallen I will quote an extract from his atheistical works in Paris:

"Ye infidels who meanly and hypocritically search for patronage under the shreds and tatters of the worn-out cloak of the Church or who quit the ranks of superstition only to waste your energies over an old Book, why believe in religion, that stronghold of all that is arbitrary, that refine-

ment of cruelty, that last relic of absurdity? Why appeal to the most fallible of all guides, conscience? Principle is the scourge of the human race. It is the disguise in which the angel of darkness appears to deceive the very elect. Down with that barricade of hypocrisy, principle." Here we part with Paine, nor will we allow him further to blur our pages more than the American Congress which in the middle of the last century refused to allow a pedestal to his memory to be erected in the capital of their nation.

When dealing with the assistance given by literary efforts to the armed forces in the field under Washington, we cannot omit the name of Thomas Jefferson, the author of the "Act of Declaration of Independence." In this able production Jefferson is said to have poured out the soul of America, and had he never penned another line this masterful indictment of King George and his advisers would have enshrined his name amongst the immortals in the annals of the Revolution. It is a powerful impeachment of Great Britain and leaves no loophole for any lover of his country no doubt about the course to pursue in the war. Nor were literary agents against the war confined to writers in the colonies. One of the King's soldiers in 1776 made bold to address George in language little short of treasonable. He compared the King to Solomon's wicked princes who oppress their subjects, adding: "Have you not called your own prejudices the necessity of the State? Have you chosen for your counsellors and ministers men of the greatest piety, courage and understanding? Have you not dreaded to have such around you because they would not flatter you and would oppose your unjust passions and your mischievous designs?" We might add: "Did you ever know a fool to choose wise counsel?"

Many of the English magazines, when the King was war mad, went straight against his policy of invasion in America. "The Empire," said the *Gazette*, "was under the direction of a bigoted King and a vindictive ruler whose administra-

tion was odious and corrupt in every part, so that the struggle of a handful of his subjects, made furious by oppression, had made known to the world the weakness of his empire."

Some years previous to the war—in 1772—the famous Junius wrote in a similar strain. "The action," says he, "of the King and his admirers (Lord Bute among the number) goaded the American colonies to resistance by preventing their petitions for redress from reaching the throne."

The most potent aids Washington had in conquering the British army in the Revolution were undoubtedly the tactless obstinacy and persistent prejudice of George III. Had George, who like William of Germany when he dismissed Bismarck, his strong man, not pensioned Pitt after he became King there would have been no trouble with the American colonies. George was arbitrary and narrow in his vision and he got possessed of a monomania about the perversity and disloyalty of America. Trevelyan remarks "that George had Boston on the brain. In his eyes the capital of Massachusetts was a centre of vulgar sedition, bristling with 'Fires of Liberty' and strewn with brickbats and broken glass, where the King's enemies went about clothed in homespun and his friends in tar and feathers."

Had King George applied to them rather Lord Macaulay's description of a liberty-loving Puritan of the John Knox type he would have been more accurate. "The Puritan is known from other men by his garb, his gait, his lank hair, the sour solemnity of his face, the up-turned white of his eyes, the nasal twang with which he spoke, and above all by his peculiar dialect. He employed on every occasion the imagery style of Scripture." Of such a type the major part of the New England army was composed.

Washington was the best conceivable General to meet a rash King and an obstinate ministry. The only policy for an ill-equipped army and poor nation to pursue against a

nation powerful in all that goes to make a martial and mighty nation and a King that was prepared to pawn his crown to keep the forces in the field until victory should be achieved and his rebel subjects should be under his heel, was a waiting, watchful policy. The patient, far-seeing and dogged tactics of the immortal Washington could not have met in an English King a better auxiliary than King George. How different might not have been the result with a Frederic of Prussia on the throne and a Wellington in command. With a George, a North, and a Howe guiding the British barque against America, Washington and his army were secure.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE AMERICAN NAVY IN THE REVOLUTION.

UNTIL the arrival of the French fleet in American waters, after the war was three years spent, perhaps the most powerful assistance rendered to the cause of freedom from any quarter short of the army itself came from the fleet, if the light craft that cruised in defence of American liberty could be designated a fleet. It has been computed that England during the first two years of the war had 26,000 seamen employed at sea against America. The unequal contest commenced early in the summer of 1775, when Captain O'Brien was joined by thirty-five young athletic volunteers in a sloop schooner in Boston and gave chase to a British naval frigate named "Margaretta," which he captured after much slaughter on both sides. This sea battle was named the "Lexington of the sea." It was the first battle on water. Twenty on both sides were killed or wounded in the encounter. O'Brien soon afterwards captured and made prisoners of all on board two other vessels in which much ammunition and provisions were stored. Soon after Washington took command at Boston he saw

the necessity for a fleet to intercept stores reaching the army of Gage, and we find him on his own responsibility commissioning willing cruisers manned with volunteers to capture stores at the mouth of the St. Laurence and outside Massachusetts Bay, the ports where supplies were landed from England for Carleton's and Gage's armies. About the month of November, 1775, we first have notice of Congress equipping out a vessel under Captain Manly to capture English boats. The "Nancy" was the first prize made by Manly. He obtained possession of stores, several brass guns, firearms and a large mortar, which were duly sent to the army under Washington. It was on December 22, 1775, that the first regular fleet on the side of Congress put to sea. Its first Commodore or Admiral was Ezekiel Hopkins. His first name points out his New England origin, his second marks him as of Irish origin. Of this fleet of eight or nine sails, the famous Commodore Barry was in subordinate command, as Captain Barry's vessel named "Lexington" is said to be the first vessel that got out to sea under the ægis of Congress. Lord Dunmore was devastating the country and coast of Virginia and the fleet made her first cruise along the Virginia and North Carolina coast early in 1776. Hopkins was a brave Admiral, but owing to want of care in cruising his small barques too near the English fleet he was censured and dismissed from his command. Barry, in the years '76 and '77, made some important captures, including that of the English warship "Edward," in which engagement he displayed great valour and cut the enemy's crew to pieces in the fierce encounter.

Paul Jones early in the Revolution joined the American navy, distinguished himself in the year 1776 under Commodore Hopkins as lieutenant, and was instrumental in capturing many merchant vessels at Newport, Long Island and New York. In these successful actions with the enemy Jones displayed great bravery and stratagem against a

superior fleet, and his hair-breadth escapes were marvellous. He was early congratulated by Congress for his victories and marked out for more important command in the near future.

The American cruisers manned by Jones and Barry and other daring American seamen were the terror of the trading vessels plying from English ports. The "Reprisal" and "Lexington" are two amongst many cruisers in English and American waters that terrified the traders in English bottoms, raised the insurance twenty per cent., and before the French entered into Alliance with America, gave employment to a vast number of French trading bottoms (French boats being neutrals were safe from the American fleet) at high tariff for carriage. Captains Jones and Cunningham cruised around the English, Scotch and Irish coasts for almost twenty months and struck terror into the people along the coast as they sailed around, and so bold were they that they called in English and Irish ports to ship provisions, pay bills on Spanish and French agents, and have their cruisers refitted and repaired when necessary. It is computed that the infant fleet of America in the year 1776 captured as many as 342 English vessels, only 60 of which were recaptured. The New England States alone, chiefly under the directions of their respective States, are said to have, during the years '76 and '77, fitted out 100 privateers.

Although the embryo fleet of America did wonders under such adverse circumstances, still it is not to be wondered at that before the arrival of the French fleet, except in a fitful and piratical capacity, the American navy was almost non-existent. It served its purpose well, and it cannot be doubted that a vast number of the colonists, had they been equipped, trained and disciplined, would have made even a better resistance on sea than on land. These men and their fathers and kinsfolk came of a daring race who braved the dangers of the sea in search of a free country and liberty. Pirates were numerous in those days, nay, many



JOHN PAUL JONES.

along the seaboard, for 500 miles, from Maine to Georgia, were smugglers to evade the Navigation Laws of the Motherland. Thousands of the colonists lived by dragging the sea for cod and herring, seals and whales. Shipping was the chief means of transit on the seaboard or along the rivers, where the hardy colonists mainly had taken up their abodes. Hence we need not be surprised that those brave men literally swarmed along the coasts when the evening sun was setting, prepared like the daring race from which they had sprung to pounce upon the incoming merchant vessels of the enemy and thus supply the sinews of war to Washington from their captures, and most likely they were not unmindful of their wives and families at home when it came to distribution of the spoils.

The name of Paul Jones is well-nigh as famous to the student of naval battles as is that of Nelson, and perhaps the gallantry of the American Captain was equal to that of the hero of the Nile. The results were unequal, and they were unequal as far as the stakes that were laid and the numbers engaged. Nelson, by his victory, proved to the world that England was mistress of the sea, and mistress she has remained for over a hundred years. Jones had not a fleet in the real sense of the word at his back and under his command. The capture of the "Alliance," "Pallas" and "Vengeance" by the "Richard" was only a partial engagement, in which only 135 navymen were employed, and these, although commissioned by Franklin, commanded by Jones, and engaged to fight under the "Stars and Stripes," were more after the Hessian type of mercenaries. They were soldiers of fortune taken from a dozen nationalities, recruited in France. Yet owing to the superhuman exertions under the most adverse circumstances of Jones and his crew, the victory of the "Richard," "Homme," and the capture of the enemy when his own boat was sinking has raised Jones to a pinnacle of fame among sea heroes that a hundred years have only intensified. Jones was

born in Scotland in 1747 and died in 1792 in France. After he had given up his service in the American fleet he settled in France. In 1787 he was appointed Admiral in the Russian navy against the Turks. America felt kindly towards him until his death, and to-day no name is more honoured after Washington than that of Paul Jones. He was a remarkable man, fearless in danger, bold in enterprise and conception, and invincible in his resolve to conquer or die. He was, as were many heroes, famed in history, of low stature, an enthusiast in his profession with strong convictions. Personally he was disposed to vanity, a worshipper of heroes and possessed of good literary taste. He was ambitious of renown, covetous of distinction, although disinterested in action. His courage, naval knowledge and enterprise would have made him first in any command in which he was placed. His motto in life was "death or success."

CHAPTER XXX.

THE IRISH IN THE REVOLUTION.

It has been a subject of remark how meagre are the references to Ireland's share in the war to be found in the general Histories of the Revolution. It was not the aim of the historians of that stupendous event to record what part the different nationalities took in severing the colonies from the motherland, or how many sons from European nations fought under the banner of the immortal Washington. That Washington's and Franklin's and Adams' forefathers were of English extraction, that Jefferson was half a Celt and half a Welshman, that Montgomery, Morgan, Knox and Sullivan were of Irish origin, or that Lafayette, Steuben, De Kalb, De Grasse, Kosciusko and Rochambeau came from European nations was foreign to the aim of most historians of this momentous Revolution. To portion out into

categories corresponding to their importance the aid given by foreign nationalities in gaining American Independence was foreign to all true ideals of American unity. To build up, to fuse and unite the scattered races and hitherto isolated colonies was more the work of patriotic historians than to widen the breach and make more difficult the task of consolidating many races and peoples and sects and harmonizing them with federal government under the Constitution.

Now, however removed as we are by almost one hundred and forty years from the time when this war for liberty commenced in Boston in the spring of 1775, we can with an impartial mind and with the sympathetic hearts of Irishmen recall with a glow of legitimate pride the important part our exiled countrymen played in the severance of the Thirteen States from Britain and in opening wide the gates of the Western continent to millions of our race, so that to-day we speak of the divided, scattered Gael and point with pride to America as the "Greater Ireland beyond the sea."

Why, it may be asked, did the Irish to a man fight against England in the American Revolution? Why were the Irish first in the field and among the last to lay down their arms? Why so revengeful against the motherland and so enthusiastic and brave to the highest degree in the cause of their adopted country? Why did the sons of those who at home were opposed to religious and political liberty to their Catholic countrymen embrace their exiled brothers in the American ranks and join them with heart and hand to assist Washington to sever the colonies from British control? This question requires an answer, considering the fact that to-day every creed and class, rank and condition of Irishmen at home are loud in their protestations of allegiance to the British Crown. Nay, Irishmen of every denomination exiled over the world have the same kindly, friendly feeling to John Bull that we have. Grattan perhaps gives the best

answer to the above queries when he said in one of his memorable speeches: "What you crush and oppress in Europe will sting you in America." To the Irishman wherever he roams, no matter in what clime he resides, the memory of the dear old land at home haunts him still and the family tradition is faithfully preserved by our exiles. Now most of our forefathers when they left home and country in the ages long past, to dare the dangers of the briny ocean for three and sometimes six long months in frail sailing barques, a prey to the storms and tempests of the deep, to scurvy and disease and hard fare and hunger, were not out for amusement. No, they left Ireland because Ireland held out no hopes of happiness or prosperity, because there were cruel wrongs inflicted on them, because they loved liberty and hated oppression. England was the conscious or unconscious oppressor of all creeds and classes in Ireland during the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, and to the Presbyterians cruel, harsh, unjust treatment from England was more than those liberty-loving Irishmen could bear and was certainly undeserved. The fact remains indelibly written in history that the Irish to a man were on the side of America, and as there is no effect without a corresponding cause, let us try in a few sentences to state the cause.

When the Crown was placed on the brow of William firmly and securely as King of England and Ireland, and when the Treaty of Limerick was signed and broken, the Protestant part of Ireland was supreme and held sway over the Island. The Catholics were soon made to feel that they were a conquered race, and all that was noble and brave of the race followed the Wild Geese and Sarsfield to France and other continental countries. Those that remained at home had neither freedom nor power. Though they were four-fifths of the population, they had only one-seventh of the land and this they held without much security. Their religion was banned and all political freedom was denied

them. They did not count in the social or political affairs of the country. However, being numerous, they rendered the minority uncomfortable and somewhat fearful. Hence the Irish Parliament, which was entirely Protestant, kept its eyes fixed on England for support and protection.

And this same Parliament commenced to enact most cruel laws to crush and root out the old Celtic race. But the more they penalized them, the more numerous they grew, and the Irish Protestants soon found that they had nothing to fear from those down-trodden serfs. But did England treat these Protestants of Ireland fairly and justly? No! From 1692 till the middle of the eighteenth century she began a course of commercial enactments that crushed the Protestants of Ireland, brought about their banishment and made them emigrate in a continuous stream for seventy years to the American colonies. England thought that a rival like Ireland in trade and commerce at her door would injure her prosperity. England had power to regulate the trade and commerce of her dependent States. She could cripple the industries of her colonies and make them bend to her legislative will. The American colonies were far removed from the motherland, and the power of England was not so keenly felt. Scotland was a united and patriotic country, and England felt it to her advantage to grant generous concessions at the Union of Parliaments to Scotland. So that in trade and commerce she has advanced and flourished under the legislative union with England. But Ireland was differently situated. She was more dependent on England, because of her own disunion. The Irish forces were divided, Protestant and Presbyterian against Catholic, and Protestant and Presbyterian against each other. This state of affairs England did not discourage. She encouraged the persecution of the Catholics, and again the subjugation of the Dissenter by the Protestant, though the latter were only one-tenth of the nation. They were the Established Church, and they were the power in Ireland behind the

throne. Nay, the feeling got abroad from the days of Charles I.—who left a letter on record in reply to his wife Henrietta urging him to throw in his lot with the Presbyterians—that Presbyterians were never loyal to monarchy, their system of Church government forcing them towards the goal of Republicanism. Hence Presbyterians were thwarted and suspected and penalized, though in a minor degree, like the detested Papists, and this was a policy backed up and approved by the ministers of Anne and the Georges. But the Irish loaves and fishes were not forgotten by England. She drew rich salaries from Ireland. She pensioned her favourites and libertines off the public revenues. She drew exorbitant head rents, quit rent and royalties from the country. She made sinecure offices. She filled the Church with English bishops and the Irish administration with English officials. She, by the privileges she possessed and the patronage she held, controlled both Houses of Parliament in Dublin, and by their co-operation she not alone crushed the majority of the nation, but she crushed the Dissenters, monopolized the trade and commerce of the Irish people and finally drove trade out of the country and brought about the stagnation of the staple industries of Ireland. Absentee landlordism drained the country, absentee ministers of State and absentee Churchmen fattening on fat livings left Ireland bankrupt. So that from 1703 till 1773 hundreds of thousands of Northern Irish emigrated to America, and a greater number of Irish, North and South, sought homes in European lands to swell the arms of England's enemies and to build up flourishing trade in woollen and linen factories in France and the Netherlands as well as in the New England States. This treatment had brought things to such a pass that Sir Horace Walpole was able to say in 1776 that Presbyterians were the worst subjects of the Kingdom, and that even the Roman Catholics were more loyal than they. The call for liberty of their kinsmen in America, who had gone away

with hate in their hearts, made itself heard on the shores of the motherland.

No wonder these exiles were panting for the day to strike a blow at the oppressors of the race.

That Irishmen took a leading part in this great Revolution the most ample historical evidence is forthcoming. Mr. Belcher, a London chaplain to the British army, has recently written a book of much authority on the composition of the Patriot army in the Revolution, and of the Irish he says: "There were Irishmen in considerable numbers. Men of Ulster Black Protestants, whom every tie of sentiment and religion had bound to the English Crown, but whom the folly and wrong-headed conception of the English capitalists had by enactments in restraint of Irish trade driven into exile. Those were amongst the most bitter and strenuous enemies of Great Britain and were for the most part Presbyterians." Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, a grand nephew of Robert Emmet, the Irish martyr, in an address to the American Irish Historical Society in January, 1899, in his reminiscences of the Irish in the Revolution, said that Joseph Galloway, a native of Maryland and resident of Pennsylvania prior to the war, was probably, with the exception of Benjamin Franklin, without an equal as to general knowledge on the condition of affairs in the country. He was an able lawyer, an eloquent speaker and a powerful advocate on behalf of America prior to the Declaration of Independence. After the Declaration he turned his back on his countrymen and sided with the Loyal minority. On a visit to England in 1779 he was examined by an investigating committee of the House of Commons and his evidence there given has often been quoted and published as the most reliable bearing on the subject of the war. When asked as to the composition of the rebel army his answer was: "I can assert the question with precision there were scarcely one-fourth native Americans, about one-half were Irish, the other fourth were English and Scotch." "He

might," says Emmet, "have stated more in detail that one-fourth were composed of sons of England, very few Scotch, and more Germans and Dutch, as they were called, from Pennsylvania and the Valley of Virginia. I have," added Emmet, "computed that about one-fourth of all the American officers, and even a larger proportion of those men more trusted by Washington, were Irish by birth or descent."

William James McNevin, in the introduction to a book on Irish history, published in New York early in the last century, says that there were 16,000 Irish Catholics fighting under Washington in the war for Independence. The historian Lecky, in his "History of Ireland," says: "Presbyterians were openly on the side of America, and the example of their kinsfolk in the colonies was kindling strong sentiments of nationality at home, and it was thought by many that Ireland, which was the chief dependency of the Crown, would follow the example of the revolted colonies. The Government," adds Lecky, "had every reason to strengthen its alliance with the majority of the nation which by the way up till this time had neither political nor religious freedom or power, and had not caught the contagion in the cause of American Independence at first so strongly as the Dissenters, because their principles inclined them to lean towards authority. Catholic Ireland became enthusiastic and unanimous with their Northern Presbyterian countrymen in the cause of America, when, in 1778-79, both France and Spain allied themselves with the Americans." Horace Walpole, in his "Last Journal," says: "That at the time the French and Spanish and American fleets were hovering around the English and Irish coast after the French Alliance, if the French should chance to land in the South of Ireland, it was his belief that every man around that coast would join them, and if an American fleet should land in the North they would gladly be received by the Presbyterians."

The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in his address to the Lords and Commons of the Irish Parliament in October, 1775, demanded a levy of Irish corps to serve under General Gage at Boston, and this was the first time that Irish Catholics were publicly looked upon as eligible to serve as common soldiers in the British army since the Revolution under William. Of course Catholics were in the ranks prior to this, as we know that many of that ignored faith served under Wolfe in the days of Chatham's wars in America. As a body Catholics refused to serve against America, although a few Catholic gentry were amongst the first to exert themselves to raise recruits and subscribe for the support of the corps for America. We find Lord Kenmare prominent then as now in professions of loyal attachment to the Crown. Kenmare and the few Catholic Peers who were permitted to hold their estates, repaid their masters by their obsequiousness, and in return we find that some of these gentry had the privilege of advancing rectors of the Established Church to livings. Lord Clanrickarde was another Peer who came to the front as a recruiting agent for the war party in England, and promised to send forth from his tenants and dependants in Galway 1,000 equipped men who would wade knee deep in their own blood in defence of King George. Scotland, as well as the North of Ireland, was a poor field at this time to raise recruits, as the Highlands as well as Ulster were suspected of disloyalty. The corps mainly made up of Southern Catholics shipped at Cork, had to be coerced on board, some of them even tied and bound and of course prepared to desert on the first favourable opportunity.

Arthur Lee, in a letter to Washington in 1779, wrote: "The Irish Catholics have markedly shown their unwillingness to enlist for the American war, and every man of a regiment raised there last year was obliged to ship tied and bound, and most certainly the Irish Catholic will desert more than any troops whatever." In 1779 some 1,500 troops

drafted from the South of Ireland in the manner noted by Lee and led by that great Irishman, though cruel General, Lord Rawdon, afterwards the great Earl of Moira, landed in America, and many of them on the first opportunity joined the rebel ranks. Bancroft, the historian, says that Rawdon issued an order to the effect that anyone who should bring in the head of a deserter from the volunteers from Ireland should receive ten guineas, whilst five guineas was the reward for a living deserter.

The Honourable Luke Gardiner, in a debate in the Irish Parliament on Irish Commerce, asserted that America was lost by the Irish (an assertion that Pitt reiterated in his place in Parliament, adding that Ireland was with America to a man). "These emigrants," Gardiner added, "are fresh in your recollection. I am," he says, "assured from the best authority that the major part of the American army was composed of Irish, and that the Irish language was more commonly spoken in the American army than English. I am also informed that it was their valour determined the contest, so that England had America detached from her by force of Irish emigrants." (This was said six months after the Treaty of Peace was signed at Paris by England, America and her French and Spanish allies). That our kinsmen were fighting for Ireland in aiding in the Revolution is clear from what Bancroft says, viz.: "The success of America brought Emancipation to Ireland, which had suffered more than the States from colonial monopoly."

The American Congress in 1775, recognizing the similarity of Irish and American grievances against England, and knowing the sympathy that Irishmen had in their cause, addressed the Irish Parliament and people to enlist their support in the cause of the colonies fighting for liberty; and that great American statesman and diplomatist, Franklin, not alone on his own account and over his own name, in 1778, addressed an appeal for aid in men and money to carry on the war, but we find him visiting Dublin and appearing

in the Irish Commons. In this address Franklin pointed out the close connection between Irish and American interests. This address from so distinguished a man was, as might be expected, widely circulated. Franklin's opinion, which he gave expression to in America, was that Ireland would make common cause with their nation and engage England at home at the same time to gain complete Emancipation from English influence in their affairs. We may add here that Franklin retained a lively and kind feeling ever after in regard to the friendly spirit in which he was received among the Irish Commons. He was high in praise of their orators and their men of business, and he loudly applauded their patriotic party led by Grattan. That Franklin was right as well as Bancroft in holding the view that Ireland's interests and Ireland's grievances were similar to those of America was witnessed by Grattan, when from his place in the Irish Commons he said: "Ireland is strong. She has acquired that strength by the weakness of Britain, for Ireland was saved when America was lost."

Grattan of course was in opposition to the Irish Parliament, and when that corrupt assembly voted 4,000 men and a hundred thousand pounds to carry on the war against America, Grattan styled these corps as "armed negotiators sent over from Ireland to butcher their American friends fighting in the cause of liberty." Edmund Burke, the great Irish statesman and orator drew up a petition on behalf of the people of Bristol, for which constituency he was M.P., calling on the ministry to discontinue their armed resistance to American demands, *i.e.*, taxing them without their consent. In this address our great countryman approves of the armed resistance of the American colonies against England. Addresses supporting the American cause were also sent to Lord North's Cabinet from Dublin, Belfast and Waterford, and money in considerable quantities was sent from Belfast and other centres in Ireland to feed and equip the armies in America fighting under Washington. In

Belfast public meetings were held approving of the Revolution. It is worthy of note and one may see a repetition of history at present in our local political strife that in the first stages of the American war the colonists made a marked distinction between the Crown and the Government in power. They attempted to reconcile allegiance with resistance, but they soon found that there was no halfway house between resistance and a Declaration of Complete Independence. That there was no divided opinion amongst Irishmen in America during the war is testified by Cynus Edmund, who wrote a biography of Washington: "Every able-bodied man," says he, "among the emigrants from Ulster after the Battle of Bunker Hill entered the army of the patriots, and from their continuous service and discipline became the mainstay of the organization until the end of the war."

When Washington was in winter quarters in Morristown in 1780 his fortunes at their lowest ebb and his forces reduced to a handful, we have it on record how jubilant they were on the celebration of the Feast of St. Patrick, Ireland's National Apostle, and how with the permission of the General a holiday was granted the army and all military routine suspended to allow universal rejoicing among the troops.

Washington, addressing the officers on the occasion, spoke as follows: "That on account of the universal sentiments of veneration for St. Patrick among the people of Ireland, the 17th of March was to be kept as a holiday and no military work allowed, and that rum should be distributed among the troops to add to their jubilation." Accordingly a hogshead was brought into camp and the Commander adds: That whilst the troops are celebrating the festival of Saint Patrick in innocent mirth and pastime, he hopes they will not be unmindful of their friends in the Kingdom of Ireland, who, with the greatest unanimity have stepped into opposition to the tyrant of Great Britain, and

who "like us are determined to die or be free." The troops he hoped would conduct themselves with propriety and good order. On the 20th June of the same year above referred to, and at a time when the American army was still in their tents for want of clothing, ammunition and money, twenty-seven members of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick signed a paper setting forth the necessity for a vigorous campaign and management of the war, recording that they were deeply impressed with the sentiments that should govern them all in the prosecution of the war, on the results of which "our freedom and that of our posterity and the freedom and independence of the United States are involved, hereby severally pledge our property and credit for the several sums specified and mentioned after our names in order to support the credit of the bank to be established for furnishing a supply of provisions and necessaries for the army of the United States."

Thomas Fitzsimmons, born in Ireland in 1741, emigrated to America in youth, and when the war broke out he was recognized as one of the most wealthy merchants in Philadelphia. During the Revolution he took a prominent part in the political life of his adopted State, Pennsylvania. He was a Congressman prior to the war, a delegate to the first Congressional Convention, and later in 1787 a delegate to the Constitutional Convention, and continued to take a public part in the affairs of the new Republic as Representative from 1789 to 1795. "He was," says the biographer, "a man of lofty and liberal principles, superior ability and high moral worth. He aided the arms of Washington on many occasions by his wealth and he subscribed in the 1780 crisis £5,000 towards the Morris Bank. His wife was a sister of that other Irishman, Robert Meade, a generous subscriber to the army, Irish and Catholic, and grandparent of General Gordon Meade, of the American army."

In connection with the financial crisis we cannot omit mention of the O'Carrolls, of Carrollstown, Maryland,

famed for their fervent Catholicism and their deep attachment to the cause of American freedom. When Charles Carroll subscribed his name in 1776 to the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia, Franklin was by his side and was heard to whisper as this wealthy Irishman lifted his pen, "There goes a cool million."

The name of Carroll was a power in the States, and if the Catholics had need of any influence to rally them in the cause, the name of the future Bishop of Baltimore and first Bishop of the United States was a sufficient guarantee that their interests would be safe under the American flag. The Rev. Carroll was of Irish parents, educated in France, and a great personal friend, not alone of Franklin, but of Washington. The Honourable Mr. Curtis, nephew of Washington, bears testimony to the high esteem in which his uncle held him. "Bishop Carroll," he says, "from his exalted work as a minister of God, his stainless life, and above all his distinguished services as a patriot of the Revolution, stood high, very high in the esteem and affection of Pater Patriae."

Toleration was not so much a characteristic of the Americans prior to the war, as love of civil liberty and hate of interference in their domestic affairs, as the following record of a visitation made by Bishop Carroll to Boston in the year 1790 is proof: "It is wonderful to tell," says he, "what great civilities have been done me in this town where a few years ago a Papist priest was thought to be the grossest monster in creation. Many here even of the principal people have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed the street rather than meet a Roman Catholic some time ago. The horror which was associated with the Papist is incredible, and the scandalous misrepresentations by their ministers increased the horror every Sunday."

The exclusive spirit in religious matters so characteristic of the Puritans was fast dying when the war broke out, and at the end of the war, thanks to the aid of France and Spain,

thanks to the whole-hearted aid in the cause of Irish Catholics and thanks chiefly to Washington, this noticeable change was brought about mainly during the Revolution.

It is true that in the years preceding the American Revolution Catholic emigrants were fewer to the British-American colonies than other denominations. This is accounted for by the disabilities, both civil and religious, by which Catholics were banned in territories subject to the British Crown. England breathed nothing but persecution of Catholics at home and in her colonies during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Still many Irish Catholics selected the lesser of two evils and emigrated to the States, but more of our Catholic fellow-countrymen followed in the footsteps of the Wild Geese and helped to swell the Irish Brigade, which took its origin in France after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, when 20,000 Irishmen emigrated from Ireland to France to oppose the arms of England on every foreign field in which her armies entered from Dunkirk to Belgrade. Historians have computed that between 1692 and 1792, when the Irish Brigade was disbanded, over 500,000 Irish soldiers died in the service of France. Still many emigrated to America, and when the Revolution broke out Irish Catholics were to be found in every division of Washington's army, and amongst the most daring were those scattered contingents of frontier men called the Greenmountainmen led by Pickens and Marion, both Irish. They swooped down in sudden lightning attacks on the flanks and rear-guards of the British troops and like wolves in the fold carried dismay and destruction into the enemy's rank and before they were recognized were back to their mountain fastnesses. These men were mainly Irish and Catholic, who passing beyond the boundaries of the original organized States became the pioneers of the West and the back-woodsmen of the forest wilds of the Western continent. The Irish Catholics like the Irish Dissenters instinctively arrayed themselves in hostility to the British power, not alone from

their innate love of liberty, but from their vivid remembrance of present and past misgovernment and persecution at home, and hence we find Catholics and Dissenters to a man fighting side by side with all the valour of their race from the beginning to the end of the war for Independence.

In those days there was no such title for those who hailed from the Emerald Isle as Scotch-Irish, all were proud of the name of Irishmen, no matter whether they hailed from North or South of the Boyne, and Dissenter and Catholic were not ashamed to join the Society known as the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. This society founded in 1774 embraced in its ranks prominent Irishmen, either by birth or descent. Its first president was William West, and its president from 1776 to 1779 was the famous Benjamin Fuller. Amongst its members were the following at this period, names that acted an indispensable part in the Revolution:—Robert Morris, the eminent patriot and financier; John Dickenson, the distinguished author of “The Farmers’ Letters”; General John Calderwell, of the Revolutionary Army; Governor Richard Penn, William Bingham, United States Senator for Pennsylvania; William Hamilton, of the Woodlands, one of the largest proprietors in Pennsylvania at the time of the Revolution; Judge Richard Peters, Captain John Barry, Commodore, Father of the American Navy; Thomas Fitzsimmons, Congressman; Generals Hand, Knox, Irvine Knox, Thompson, Wayne, and Walter Steward; Colonel Moylan, afterward General; Colonels John Patton, Francis Nichol, Francis Johnston, Calderwell, Lambert and Richard Bache. The above names figure in some of the highest positions in Army and Senate, and all of them are honoured and revered over the States to-day, nor do we exhaust in above list our distinguished countrymen at this time. The Carrolls, the Sullivans, Montgomerys, Lynchs, Meades, Stack, and a host of others are not accounted for in this list which seems to be made up of those mainly in and around Philadelphia.

The name Scotch-Irish is commonly applied to men of Ulster descent in the States to-day. How this name got fixed on any part of our countrymen in America is not easy to determine. However the fact remains that instead of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, some of these grandsons of old Revolution warriors, pride in the name Scotch-Irish, and such historians as Bancroft and lecturers like Whitlaw Reid, late American Ambassador to London, dubs them as such. The name is of modern origin and its assumption, conscious or unconscious, is not creditable to our friends who claim the title. It has an unpleasant ring about it, and I doubt not is distasteful to Ulstermen in the States. The name is never heard as a designation for Ulster Protestants in Canada. That most of the Presbyterians of Ulster are of Scotch origin is true. They were planted in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and after the Cromwellian and the Williamite wars. But why should a man call himself Scotch-Irish because his great-great grandparents happened to be transplanted from Scotia generations ago. A very proper comment on the term is given in Maguire's "Irish in America." A perplexed Yankee is represented as addressing one of those Scotch-Irishmen. "What do you mean, Mr. McFarlane, by dubbing yourself as a Scotch-Irishman? Why should you set yourself up as not being an Irishman? or an American. You were born in Ireland; I was born in America. I am an American. You were born in Ireland. You are an Irishman. Why pretend you ain't Irish? I may prefer an American Protestant to an Irish Catholic, but though a man's religion is nothing to me, it's his own affair, yet I like a man who stands up for his native land, whatever he is in religion or politics. I don't like a hound who denies the country that gave him birth; it isn't natural."

In the school histories on the American Revolution Patrick Henry is the only prominent Patrick that figures amongst the notable characters on the American side, but

it has been computed from old records of names composing the different corps in the war that some 250 Irishmen bearing the Christian name Patrick fought in the rebel ranks. Patrick Henry was a Virginian, born of Irish extraction; he studied law and was one of the foremost orators of his own or any generation. He led a regiment in Virginia early in the Revolution against the Loyalist party who ravaged the State under Governor Lord Dunmore. He was a strenuous advocate of the war from the first. It was he that gave the watchword inscribed on many a banner in the war. In one of his brilliant outbursts of oratory he wound up a speech of irresistible power with these words: "Give me liberty or give me death." Coming down to a more detailed account of the Irish heroes who prominently figured in the Revolution, let us select a number of the most prominent who contributed by their valour to separate the United States from British rule. One of the most daring and far-reaching feats of valour was performed by Jeremiah O'Brien, son of Maurice O'Brien, of Cork, who, with his six sons, emigrated to America early in the eighteenth century and settled on the sea coast of Maine. It was Jeremiah O'Brien, accompanied by his five brothers and a little band of brave seafaring men who captured the first English warship in the Revolution. The O'Briens came of a daring martial stock. Old Maurice was with Wolfe in the last colonial war at the taking of Quebec, and his sons proved themselves true naval heroes. Before Congress acquired a fleet, the O'Briens, in an old fishing vessel with one small gun and twenty volunteers, put out to sea and near their coast attacked a British warship carrying twenty guns and a great quantity of stores. He came alongside this vessel named the "Margarita," and in a hand to hand encounter boarded her and captured or slaughtered the entire crew of over fifty able-bodied men and safely brought her into Machias's Bay, a port in Maine. This was called the Lexington of the sea. This was the first but by no means the last successful en-

counter Jeremiah O'Brien had with the British fleet in American waters. He was raised to the rank of Captain by Congress, and had two vessels, the "Margarita" and "Diligence," which he captured, placed under his command. After a year and a half's cruising around in pursuit of British vessels, and having strengthened the forces of Washington materially by his captures, he was made prisoner and shipped off to England. He made his escape after some time to America, where he died in 1818. He was a pioneer of the sea before either Paul Jones or our distinguished countrymen Commodores Barry and Hopkins had become famous as naval heroes. General John Sullivan was another distinguished son of an Irish father who made history in the Revolution. Sullivan was born in the State of Maine in 1740. His father taught school for fifty years after landing in America early in the eighteenth century. The Sullivans came from the County Kerry and originally occupied the Castle of Ardea on the Kenmare river. Their property fell into the hands of the Lansdowne family after the Cromwellian wars. The Sullivans for their loyalty to Ireland suffered banishment from their ancient castle and lost their estate.

General John Sullivan was a learned lawyer, a skilled orator; he wielded a facile pen, and as a General he was in the first rank under Washington. At the first Congress in Philadelphia he was appointed one of the eight Generals in the Patriot army. He, too, like O'Brien, was early in the field in opposition to English rule. He struck the first blow by a raid he made along with John Langdon and a brave band of picked men on Forts William and Mary at Portsmouth. In this encounter he succeeded in seizing some cannon and ammunition, a most necessary asset to the army at the beginning of the Revolution. In 1775 he was appointed to lead to Canada a considerable force to act conjointly with Montgomery who had preceded him, but his assistance came after poor Montgomery had laid his bones to

rest on the snow-clad heights of Quebec and his army had retreated across the St. Lawrence. At the battle of Brooklyn Sullivan was high in command, and when the day was practically lost and he and his forces stood exposed between the enemy's fire, with Clinton and Heister riddling his ranks, he stood for three hours struggling desperately to save his troops from utter annihilation. He was made a prisoner on the Heights of Brooklyn, but on being exchanged with other prisoners we find him leading towards the Delaware the troops that Lee commanded before his capture and joining with 4,000 soldiers the band that Washington saved in his retreat over The Jerseys. At Trenton and Princeton he was amongst the most daring and brave, everywhere urging on his men to achieve the glorious victory that crowned the American cause in the winter of 1776. At Brandywine we see him leading 800 brave hearts to death, if not to victory. He was exposed to the brunt of the battle in this encounter as at Brooklyn, and by word and example he rallied his men again to the charge, although the superior artillery of General Howe was ploughing through his ranks and mowing them down like corn. He showed a like courage, a fearlessness of death and danger at the unequal contest fought outside Philadelphia at Germanstown. He gave of his personal estate all he possessed to keep alive himself and his troops at Valley Forge, and later we find him appointed to hunt back the Canadian and Indian forces that were harassing and pillaging and butchering the isolated colonists in Northern New York and Pennsylvania.

For a time he had command of the forces sent to protect Rhode Island and the New England States against a land and sea force of several thousands that were devastating the country around from their safe location at Newport. Here his irascible Irish nature broke out against the punctilious and dilatory support that the French allies were rendering their cause after arrival in American waters.

General Anthony Wayne was another Irish-American who distinguished himself in the Revolution. He was a Pennsylvania man by birth, born of Irish parents. He received his early education from an uncle who discerned in the boy from his school days evidence that his talents were in the direction of a military career. At first it was intended to buy him a position in the English army, but owing to political considerations it was thought that sufficient influence would not be forthcoming to ensure his promotion. After he left school he was like Washington and many other promising sons of large planters apprenticed to the surveying business. In this avocation he was chiefly employed until the Revolution broke out. At the commencement of the war he threw up the business of a surveyor and commenced recruiting a line of Pennsylvania militia. When he had these drilled and equipped he marched at their head into Cambridge and placed himself under Washington's command. His ideals of warfare were efficiency and military appearance, well uniformed neatness and more of the bayonet than the rifle science. Wayne was thirty years old when the war began. He learned his military drill from old books and was a stickler for old methods. He was a disciple of Braddock in method, but a true Celt in his headlong charges against the enemy.

"Wayne," says Trevelyan, in his "History of the Revolution," "had been defeated three times in as many weeks. He had been bruised by a cannon ball, grazed by a bullet and rolled over by a dying horse within a few paces of the English bayonets and after his miraculous escape he wrote home to his wife that they had a glorious day, though the bullets were swizzing around him like hail." He was a great favourite with Washington, and where reckless daring was required Brigadier-General Wayne was ever at the command of the General. He is styled in all histories of the war by the not inglorious title of Mad Anthony Wayne. During the Presidency of Washington we find him sent out to the

Western districts in supreme command of the Republican arms to quell the Indians and suppress discontent in the backwoods territory.

After the battle of Lexington it was an Irishman, Dr. Joseph Warren, who presided at a meeting of Massachusetts men, in which it was resolved to raise a Patriot army of 16,000 to oppose the English garrison in charge of General Gage at Boston and to defend the liberties of America. Warren was a relative of Sir Peter Warren, of Warrington, Ireland. He was born at the ancestral home in Ireland, and was amongst the most enthusiastic in the cause of the Patriots. He was killed at the battle of Bunker Hill; after the fight was over he was amongst the last to leave the trenches and his tardy retreat caused him his death. His loss was a severe one to the Patriot army and his heroic death was deeply lamented by his countrymen. To avenge the death of so distinguished a patriot aroused the valour of his compatriots to renewed exertions.

Henry Knox, another distinguished General, born of Irish parents in Boston in 1760, played a distinguished part in the military and civil life of America. When only 16 years of age he fought under old Ethel Allen, another brave Irishman at Crown Point and Teconderoga, and was commissioned to bring into Cambridge early in the war a hundred swivel guns and much ammunition captured in these forts. This consignment was of incalculable service to Washington in storming Boston, and the feat performed by young Knox was an heroic one when we consider his age and the fact that he had to travel over hundreds of miles in a pathless country covered with frost and snow. To him during the war was assigned the control of the artillery and on several occasions his well-directed bombarding of the enemy's ranks turned the tide of battle. He was noticeably successful at both Trenton and Princeton. With Washington he was a great favourite and life-long personal friend. In general he was large of person, generous hearted, with

a blustering manner that captivated by his apparent honesty. During the Presidency of Washington he was appointed to his first Cabinet as Secretary of War which he resigned in 1795. Another Irishman, who held an officer's command during the war, James McHenry, was his successor. McHenry held the position in John Adams' terms of office and gave every satisfaction by the efficient manner in which he discharged his duties. James McHenry was born in Ireland on November 16th, 1753, and arrived in Philadelphia in 1771, where he studied medicine until the war broke out. He joined the forces at Cambridge and acted as Assistant Surgeon to the army. Besides occupying the position of Minister of War during two Administrations he was Congressman for many years from the State of Maryland.

The Reid family, which gave several sons to the cause of liberty in army, navy and Senate, came originally from Dublin and settled in Philadelphia. At the battle of Trenton, and whilst crossing over the troops on the Delaware, swollen as it was by an inclement snow storm, Commodore Reid swept with grape-shot the bridge across the Assumpnik to protect the loaded boats that rocked and tossed with the troops and baggage to protect them from the enemy's outposts. Colonel John Reid distinguished himself in many engagements during the war and noticeably at Trenton, Princeton, Germanstown and Brandywine. It was another brother, Joseph, who suggested to Washington the idea of striking a surprise blow at Trenton when the cause of liberty was hopeless and their position desperate.

Thomas McKean was another distinguished Irish-American whose parents emigrated from the Bann Valley early in the eighteenth century and settled in Pennsylvania. Thomas fought with distinction in the Revolution, but like Jefferson his duty confined him more to Congressional work and Administration than the camp. He was member of Congress from 1774 till the peace was signed in 1783. One time President of the Congress and held the position of

Governor of his State, Pennsylvania. He was an active and constant force, urging on the war and aiding in drafting in supplies during the entire war. Though he was loyal to Washington throughout he was one of those who would have preferred a more active campaign than the General saw fit to pursue at times. He was an ultra-Democrat, a personal friend and disciple of Jefferson.

Colonel John Stack, a North of Ireland man, whose family settled in New Hampshire in the township of Londonderry, was another brave defender of liberty in the Revolution. When the war broke out at Lexington and when it was necessary for everyone to take sides in the coming struggle he resolved to take an active part and soon he marched into Cambridge at the head of an Irish corps 800 strong which he recruited among the Hampshire Irishmen. As Stack was a soldier of much distinction in the late colonial wars, a rich reward was offered him should he throw in his lot with the Loyalists. He spurned the offer and in the Patriot ranks proved himself amongst the bravest in the entire army. At Bunker's Hill he was amongst the last to leave the trenches, and he and his Irish troops stood at the outer rails guarding the trenches, beating back the Redcoats with the butts of their carabines until the main forces were clear of attack and danger. Noticeable amongst his brave companions were Reid and Knowlton, Irishmen also.

At the battle of Bennington Stack won a signal victory over 800 troops sent by Burgoyne to destroy stores and gather provender from the inhabitants. John Langdon, of Irish origin, was speaker of the Assembly when news came of the British troops approaching their State. He rose before the delegates and said: "I have 3,000 pounds in cash. I will pledge my plate for 3,000 more. I have seventy hogsheads of rum. I will sell it. I will place the amount at the service of my State. If we succeed I will be repaid; if we fail I will lose all. Our old friend Stack, who so nobly defended the honour of our State at Bunker's



THE DEATH OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

Hill, will conduct our forces and defend our honour. At Bennington Stack led out his men to meet the foe, and as he approached them he said: "See, soldiers, there are the Redcoats we beat to-day or Molly Stack is a widow." Stack led his men, riding in front of them, and in four divisions he engaged the enemy. With a shout like thunder his Irish troops advanced and for two hours the din of the desperate encounter was like one continued clap of thunder until finally the foe gave way and were completely routed, 200 being killed or wounded and 600 made prisoners.

There is one other Irishman that can't be omitted from the list of distinguished Generals from Ireland who fought and sacrificed for American freedom, although death came to him before he had achieved much laurels for his adopted country, I refer to General Montgomery.

Brigadier-General Montgomery was born in Donegal on the 2nd December, 1736, entered the British army early in life and fought with distinction under Wolfe at the capture of Quebec in 1758. He returned to Ireland after the Treaty of 1762, ceding Canada to England, sold his commission and returned to America, where in 1773 he married a daughter of Robert R. Livingstone. He adopted New York State as his home and settled down to the life of an American citizen. When the war broke out between America and the Mother country he was selected a delegate to the National Convention in Philadelphia. Washington knew his worth as a soldier and influenced his promotion to the position of Brigadier-General in the army about to be formed. Montgomery did not desire the honour, though he accepted the position with diffidence. Thus he wrote Congress: "The Congress having done me the honour of electing me a Brigadier-General in their service is an event which must put an end for a while, perhaps for ever, to the quiet scenes of life I had prescribed for myself, for though entirely unexpected and undeserved by me, the will of an oppressed people must be obeyed." His last words to his wife when

setting out for Canada were: "You shall never have cause to blush for your Montgomery."

A description of how he fought and fell at Quebec will be interesting. When leading the New York troops in a rush over the snow-clad and ice-bound rocks, he reached the first barrier and in an instant the outer forts of Quebec were reached and carried by storm. For a second Montgomery halted before the second barrier, seen dimly by him through the faint light, and having gathered his soldiers around him, he pointed with his sword to the palisade ahead, whilst his eye kindled with fire of coming victory, he said: "Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your young General leads. March on." Pronouncing these words he dashed forward to gain a rising ground, thirty yards from the barrier, when suddenly a cannon ball sped from one of the cannon concealed in the snow. The effect of the hurricane of bullets issuing from those death-bearing artillery brought the young Commander to the earth. In the course of the day his body was discovered half buried in the snow. The British troops cut off his head and carried it around in triumph, fixed on the end of a halbert. His soldiers, on learning the sad fate of their Commander, burst into tears. His body was buried where he fell on the heights of Quebec. Forty years after his remains were carried to New York, and Congress erected in his honour in the city of his adoption a monument. His name and memory to this day is fondly cherished by Irish-Americans.

Additional Irish-Americans in the American Revolution who distinguished themselves in the cause of Independence:

General Enoch Poor, of Irish parentage, was born in New Hampshire. He fought with Montgomery in the Canadian expedition in 1775, was raised to the rank of Brigadier-General, served with distinguished valour at the battle of Saratoga where Burgoyne lost his army. Before the war was ended he died at Hachensack, N.J., in 1780.

Colonel Francis Barber, son of Patrick Barber, County Longford, was one of those who answered the first bugle

call of the Revolution, and appeared early in 1775 at Cambridge leading a troop of volunteers from New Jersey. He was attached to the troops on active service in the Northern States during the war, and when the American and French concentrated their united forces at Yorktown in 1781 he was amongst the victors. He lost his life by a tree falling upon him outside the fortifications of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Colonel Zebulon Butler, of Wyoming Valley fame, led the colonial troops in that fierce and cruel engagement in which his brother and the cruel Indian Chief Brant, at the head of Loyalists, Canadians and Indians, so inhumanly butchered the inhabitants of Wyoming and Cherry Valleys in 1778. The brothers Butler fought with great fury and determination on opposite sides, and the slaughter of the inhabitants by the wild Indian tomahawks has been rendered famous by Thomas Campbell in his beautiful poem of "Gertrude of Wyoming."

There were many distinguished Irishmen of the name Butler who fought on the side of liberty in the war. There were three brothers, Colonels Thomas, Edward and Richard, who fought in many engagements during the Revolution with Washington. Besides there was one Pierce Butler related to the Duke of Ormond, who was born in Ireland in 1744. He took a leading part in South Carolina in helping on the war, was member of local committees, delegate to Constitutional Convention in 1787, and acted for some time as Governor of the State of South Carolina.

Captain William Keraghan was born in Belfast in 1746. He was amongst the slain at Wyoming, was a man of wonderful bravery and great modesty. On the morning of battle he spoke thus to Captain Stewart, another Irish officer: "My pursuits in life have been so far those of peace; you, Captain, have been used to war and accustomed to command on parade. I can manœuvre my men, but on the field of battle no unnecessary risks should be run. A

mistake might prove fatal. Take you the command; I will follow where you lead. I will fight under you with my men, either as your adjutant or as a private." Like the brave men who fell in this valley he sold his life dearly in defence of the homes and hearths and widows and orphans of Wyoming. (The women of Wyoming were brave and loyal and I note that their little State has granted enfranchisement to women).

General Andrew Lewis fought with distinction in the Ohio district against the Indians.

Luke Ryan, a noted privateer, was commissioned by Congress to cruise in command of the frigate named "Black Prince" against British vessels in American waters. He was famous for the number of British vessels he succeeded in capturing during the first three years of the war. Ryan was captured by the English, brought to London and tried at the Old Bailey, but by the intervention of the Court of Versailles was liberated.

The Clintons were sons of Irish parents who came to America from County Longford early in the eighteenth century. They settled in the State of New York and became very wealthy and leaders in their adopted district. George Clinton became Governor of New York after the war broke out and after the cruel Governor Tyron was supplanted by Congress. He held the position of Governor of the State for eighteen years, from 1777 to 1795. He died in 1812, full of years and honours. He was a Brigadier-General in the war, and when he died he was Vice-President of the Republic which he did so much to establish. With Washington from colonial days until the death of the latter he was on most intimate terms, and he proved his loyalty on every public occasion.

James Clinton, brother of George, a soldier of eminence, took part in every engagement of note during the entire war. He was with Sullivan in North New York, leading 1,600 troops in 1779. He fought not alone at Canada and

Rhode Island as well as Yorktown with the rank of General, but he had a name famed for valour from his active part in the last colonial wars in which his father, Colonel Clinton, also distinguished himself. In State affairs he was of no mean repute, and in the Federal Convention in 1787 he was a delegate from his native State, New York.

He was as a General cool, ready and courageous, and always acted with great judgment, but when roused to action he was fierce, passionate and irresistible.

Commissionary General Charles Stewart was born in Donegal, 1729; emigrated to America in 1750, was elected to the position of Deputy-Surveyor General of Pennsylvania. In 1774 he represented New Jersey at a province meeting of delegates, and was a member of the Convention that launched the Revolution in 1775. During the entire war he was in active service under Washington, and after the war he was a Congressman in New Jersey in 1784 and 1785.

At the battle of Brandywine the most prominent commanders under the Commander-in-Chief were of Irish origin and on them the brunt of the fighting was centred. General John Armstrong led the Pennsylvania militia with Generals Wayne and Reid. General John Sullivan held a command in the hottest of the fray with six brigades which he officered. General Henry Knox had charge of the artillery in this as in many other engagements, and he made his cannon play with destructive effect on the advancing forces of the British troops. In addition you had Generals Conway, Nash, Maxwell, McDougal and Reid, who took important part in the battle of Brandywine.

Colonels Lowry and Butler distinguished themselves in this encounter and both received honoured mention for their courage and bravery.

Matthew Mease, an Irishman, was purser in the "Bon Homme Richard," the famed man-of-war led by the heroic Paul Jones, Mease, in the encounter with the "Scrapis," volunteered to serve the guns amid deck in the historic encounter between the seraphs and "Bon Homme Richard."

The capture of Stony Point, forty miles up the Hudson from New York, was looked upon by historians as the most brilliant feat of the war, and it was a prize that Washington planned with great care, and gave the execution of it to none other than the famed Anthony Wayne.

It cannot be overrated the important service rendered to the cause of liberty by the Backwoodsmen from Georgia to Kentucky, more than half of whom were Irish pioneers of the wild Western territory. Nor can we omit special mention of one of their guerilla leaders, Francis Marion, of Irish origin. Marion's field of action was in the Southern border districts, and his name came prominently forward when Cornwallis and Tarleton, Ferguson and Lord Rawdon were carrying death and destruction wherever they marched from Georgia to North Carolina. Marion was made Brigadier-General by Governor Rutledge, an Irishman of great distinction in the Revolution as well as in Congress. Marion's brigade was formed mainly of neighbours and friends and constantly fluctuated in numbers. He was a man of mature age, small of stature, but hardy, healthy and vigorous. Brave but not a braggart. He feared not danger, but never rushed rashly into it. By nature taciturn and by habit abstemious; he was a strict disciplinarian, careful of the lives of his men, but caring little for his own. When duty called him to meet the enemy he was first in the fray. Just he was in all his dealings, without any sordid or mercenary motives, he was the soul of honour. He had his haunts and fastnesses in the morasses of the Pedec river and surrounding district. His men like himself were trained to endurance and hardy fare; could subsist on dried food and potatoes, with little garments to cover them by day or by night. The bush life and the Indian tactics were the school in which he and his troops were trained, and no expedient or stratagem was unknown to them. They sallied forth like wolves on their prey, hidden and unforeseen. They obstructed the march of the enemy, cut down bridges, hung on the heels

of the enemy in their retreats and marches, and when they had fully roused the ire of the enemy, they with lightning speed disappeared into their fenny fortresses. He was named by the British "The Swamp Fox," but amongst his countrymen who knew his valour and worth he was styled, owing to his courage, lofty spirit and spotless life, the "Bayard of the South."

When the army of Washington was sorely pressed after the great victories at Trenton and Princeton in the winter of 1776 by the swift-footed troops of Cornwallis, and when there was only a bridge across a river separating a superior and well-fed and well-rested army from attacking the Patriot army hurrying towards the mountains for rest and winter quarters, an Irishman named Major Kelly performed a deed of heroism similar to our forefathers on the Bridge of Athlone. Kelly stood his ground with hatchet in hand in the face of shot and shell until he cut the main support of the planks over the swollen river, a tributary of the Delaware, and succeeded in tearing down the last plank. The bridge fell into the water and with it the brave, though unhurt, Irish Major. Though he was made captive by the enemy, he saved the American forces from an attack which would have proved a defeat.

There is another act of heroism recorded of a brave and beautiful young Irishwoman named by the army, Major Molly, and for which she was rewarded by the rank of Sergeant and half-pay for life. It is recorded how she followed her husband in the war, when he, a cannonier, was shot at his gun on the Hudson in 1777, when fighting the troops of Sir Henry Clinton, as they dealt death and destruction up the Hudson waters on every side. The General, who was the renowned Greene, seeing the gunner dead, ordered the piece to be taken off the field, but no. Molly, returning from a well hard by with her pitcher of water, volunteered to take her dead husband's place and continued, not alone in that engagement, but till the end of the war to charge

the cannon with a fearless courage that drew down the respect, admiration and praise of the entire army. Another deed of Irish daring is recorded of an Irishman named Jasper, who, in 1776, when the American flag had been shot down by a British ship and had fallen to the bottom of the trench, jumped the parapet wall, walked the full length of the fort, picked up the flag and stuck it in position, though shot and shell flew around him. This brave soldier received his death by attempting a similar feat of heroism at the siege of Yorktown towards the end of the war.

Dr. Corcoran, an Irishman, was Director-General of Hospitals and in the Revolution he held the honoured position of Surgeon-General of the Army.

Another Irishman, David Ramsay, was a distinguished historian of the war, and his work has been recognised as a classic for accurate information and lucid details of the entire Revolutionary period.

Andrew Pickens, who might be classed side by side with Francis Marion as a guerilla chieftain of the South in the war, was also distinguished for his political service after the war in South Carolina, and was raised to the rank of Major-General of Militia in 1795 under the Republic. Washington, in his term of Presidency, honoured him by appointing him Commissioner to bring about a treaty with the Indians. He was related by marriage to that distinguished Irish-American statesman and orator, J. C. Colhoun, being married to his aunt.

Edward Rutledge, soldier, statesman and incomparable orator, as well as signer of the Declaration of Independence, was son of Dr. Rutledge, an Irishman by birth. Rutledge was Governor of South Carolina for a lengthened period, and held several positions of trust in the Republic.

Thomas Lynch was the youngest member of the Congress who signed the Declaration of Independence. He was born in South Carolina of Irish parents, studied law and held the position of Captain in the Revolution.

George Reid, son of John Reid, from Dublin, was also a signer of the Declaration. He reached the position of Attorney-General in the Republic.

This commemoration of the part taken by our forefathers in the American Revolution would not be complete did we omit to mention the Irish Brigade from France who fought in the French army for American liberty. This Brigade of Irish soldiers was formed in France soon after the Treaty of Limerick in 1691, and for a hundred years from 1692 to 1792, when the Brigade was disbanded during the French Revolution, it has been computed that almost half-a-million Irish soldiers fell in the service of France. It was the proud privilege of this famed Brigade that they claimed the right to be always called out first among the soldiers of France to fight in every battle in which France and England were opposed to each other. Revenge for the wrongs of centuries inflamed them with hate and courage against their Saxon persecutors. Their watchword was, as at Fontenoy, "Remember Limerick and English perfidy" and so we find when the Alliance of France with America was sealed in 1778 during the war that the spokesman of the Irish Brigade, General Arthur Dillon, sent in a petition that the regiments of Berwick, Walsh, Fermoy, and Dillon—regiments formed after the Wild Geese had sailed from Ireland in 1791—should be allowed to serve in the American war. Dillon was appointed Commander of 2,300 soldiers of the above corps of the Irish Brigade who shipped in April, 1779, from France in the fleet commanded by Count D'Estaing. These troops were mainly recruited in Ireland. It is unnecessary to add that those brave Irish troops led by Dillon performed heroic work in the American cause from the time they landed at Savannah until the end of the war.

The close connection between France and Ireland, it should be remembered, began long before Sarsfield and his brave Wild Geese landed in France after the Treaty of Limerick. In the days of Queen Elizabeth, when the education

of Irish Catholics was banned at home, and when to enter Trinity was to deny the Catholic religion, France opened wide the portals of her schools and Universities and admitted lay and clerical students to her friendly seats of learning. James Caldwell, a patriotic historian of Irish affairs, wrote thus of the Irish of the eighteenth century: "There was scarcely," says he, "a Popish family in Ireland that had not some relative who was either a priest or -enlisted in a foreign army or engaged in trade in France or Spain, and that their children were all taught Latin throughout the Southern part of the Kingdom at hedge schools to qualify them for foreign service."

When the French took the side of America in the Rebellion, not alone secret agents from America, but French agents also were secretly passing among the Irish, hoping to soon bring about a Rebellion in the Irish Kingdom. De Vergennes, the Prime Minister of France at this time, kept a steady eye on the Island, but when he found out that the discontent and agitation was not to bring about separation from England, but to secure legislative Independence, he ceased to interest himself so much in Irish affairs.

It will be interesting in concluding this chapter to quote the following beautiful passage delivered by President Taft to the Irish Societies in America 140 years later than the days of the Revolution.

"They (the Irish) believe in constituted authority. They believe in the institutions of modern society. They believe in the preservation of the checks and balances of our constitutional structure. Not from them do we hear proposals to change the fundamental law or take away the independence of the judiciary or to minimise in any way the influence of the power of constituted authority. They welcome progress. They are enterprising and active to further prosperity. They are not full of diatribes against the existing order." Again he continues: "The Irish have accentuated the American will. They have added to

American tenderness. They have perhaps instilled into American life a little additional pugnacity. They have increased his spirit of good fellowship. They have added to his social graces. They have increased his poetic imagination. They have added to his sunny philosophy. They have suffused his whole existence with the spirit of kindly humour."

CHAPTER XXXI.

ARMY WANTED TO MAKE WASHINGTON KING:

THE SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI.

Just before taking leave of his devoted army Washington was undergoing another severe trial and a painful experience at their hands. We saw that during the course of the war the chief source of trouble and anxiety to the General and his soldiers was want of necessaries and small pay owing to want of funds which Congress was often powerless to supply. Much discontent at every turn during the campaign was manifested, but at no time was any blame attached to the Commander-in-Chief for the unsatisfactory state in which the army often found itself. On the contrary the armies in the field loved their Chief and were prepared at all times during the past seven years to follow him to death or victory.

There naturally grew up between the General and his men a fondness which was real and mutual. He saw their devotion to him and the cause in which he commanded; he shared with them all the toils and trials of a severe and protracted war; he felt for them and he left no stone unturned to relieve them from present wants and to provide for their future happiness when the turmoil of war should cease. The army knew his worth. They feared for the future on personal and national grounds. They had no

confidence in the civil rulers. All their hard trials they believed were to be attributed to the Congress representing the United States. They dreaded that after they should lay down their arms and depart to a peaceful life over the States that whatever form of government might be adopted they would be neglected and that the promised pensions of half-pay for life might be ignored by the future rulers of those States that they fought and bled and suffered to free from English tyranny. Hence as they thought in the interests of peace and on behalf of the army, before the army should be disbanded, Colonel Nicola was deputed to appeal to General Washington in the following address, asking him to become their king over the United States :

“ It will,” he said, “ be uncontroverted that the same abilities which have led us through difficulties apparently insurmountable by human power to victory and glory, those qualities that have merited and obtained universal esteem and veneration of the army would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the ideas of tyranny and monarchy as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may therefore be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose some more moderate title ; but if all things were once adjusted I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the name of King.”

This letter though coming from a devoted army who held in sad remembrance the treatment received during an arduous campaign from the impoverished and oscillating assembly, yet it must have been for Washington a most embarrassing and painful ordeal to be thus approached by the army that adored him. Washington who had no higher ambitions during the war than faithfully to serve his country and who had no other wish at its close than to return to his beloved Mount Vernon and around the smiling banks and braes along the charming Potomac, cultivate in peace his

orchards and vine in the evening of his illustrious life. His reply, noble, stern and compassionate, was as follows :

“ Sir—With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment I have read your letter. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the war has given me more painful sensations than your information that there exists such an idea in the army as you have expressed, which I must view with abhorrence and apprehend with severity. For the present the communication of them will rest in my bosom unless some further agitation of the matter shall make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to know what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address which to me seems big with the greatest mischief that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. No one desires ampler justice to the army than I do, and in a constitutional way I shall to the utmost of my abilities influence the authorities to effect redress.

“ Banish then all such though from your mind.” . . .

General Knox, that big-hearted Irishman, a great favourite with Washington, the officer who had charge of the artillery in the Revolution, and who, by the way, used it to such advantage at Trenton and Princeton, his Secretary of War under the Constitution, and a life-long personal friend, formed the Society of Cincinnati to perpetuate the friendship formed amongst the officers of the army in the war and to keep alive a spirit of brotherhood in after life. Washington gave the project his approbation and promised to co-operate with the promoters of this union. The society took the name Cincinnati in memory of the illustrious Roman, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, who assumed command of the Roman Legions straight from the plough, and after defending his country and leading her armies to a glorious victory retired from the wars to the peaceful duties of the citizen. The object of the society

were to perpetuate a memory of the war and a brotherhood among the officers, to defend and propagate the principles for which they fought and to afford assistance to each other in adverse circumstances, to aid the families of those of the brotherhood in distress, and for this purpose a month's pay was deposited by each member on admission.

The designating badge of the society was a deep blue ribbon edged with white and a medal with the golden eagle on one side and the words " Commemorating the War for Independence " on the other. The society was to be divided into States, each State to have districts. A general meeting of the society was to be held every first Monday in May. The States branches were to hold an annual meeting every 4th of July, and the districts were to meet as arranged by the Executive branch of each State. Honorary members under conditions were eligible. The French officers were each to be presented with a badge and to be accepted as honorary members, and any prominent patriotic citizen might be co-opted as member by their respective State. There was a movement among a section of the members to make the society hereditary, descending from father to son, etc., etc. The ultra-democrats over the States were suspicious of the society and one, Burke of Carolina, sounded a note against its utility, and he was ably seconded in France by the illustrious Mirabeau. When Washington, in May, 1784, was elected chairman, there was a feeling of opposition that boded evil for the society, and its President was ill at ease in the chair. However to the meeting came representatives from France approving of the association and adopting it with enthusiasm as a bond that would keep alive the Alliance of France and America. The tide turned by the French intervention at the convention in favour of the Cincinnati, but the rules were modified, the hereditary principle was annulled. Civilians were excluded, and it was decided that the annual meetings should take place triennially.

Franklin was somewhat cynical about the association, but Jefferson was openly opposed to its existence. Washington, after he saw the opposition that its existence created, was less enthusiastic than he otherwise would have been. He however remained in close touch with its operations as long as he lived, and as late as 1789, when President and when on a tour of inspection to the New England States, one of the addresses he received most graciously came from the Society of Cincinnati of Massachusetts. In it they heralded him as "their glorious leader in war, their illustrious example in peace." The reply of their President and old Commander was most touching. "Dear indeed," says he, "is the occasion which restores an intercourse with my associates in adverse fortune and enhanced are the triumphs of peace participated with those whose virtue and valour so largely contributed to procure. To that virtue and valour your country has confessed her obligations. Be mine the grateful task to add to the testimony of a connection which it was my pride to own in the field and is now my happiness to acknowledge in the enjoyment of peace and freedom."

CHAPTER XXXII.

SKETCH OR SUMMARY OF CHIEF POINTS OF CONSTITUTION.

THE plan mapped out by the framers began with the following preamble: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

As I will give in appendix the original Constitution with the fifteen Articles which have been added to it since 1791 until 1870 when 15th and last article was added to the original

Seven Articles framed in 1787, I might add here also that most of the added Articles were at time of ratification in 1788 and following years argued and contended for by individual States in the then Union. Jefferson and his party, known as Democratic Republicans, with Patrick Henry and Monroe, Samuel Adams, Hancock and Madison, had feared that centralization of authority might converge into monarchical government, and hence they strongly opposed the encroachment of the Federal authority on the individual State. It was the carrying out of the Jeffersonian principles that led to secession and the civil war which deluged the nation in blood and eventually gave to the State government that supremacy and solidarity for which Washington contended. The United States at time of the Union consisted of thirteen Commonwealths or Republics, with separate Constitutions and all the essentials for self-government. Since the Union about forty States and territories have been incorporated in the Federation by consent, and complying with the conditions mapped out for admission into the Union by the Constitution.

Each individual State admitted into the Union has a separate government of its own to legislate for its own State. They appoint by popular vote a Governor and representatives. They have powers to make their own laws, levy their own taxes, appoint their own police and frame State laws, which however must in no way clash with the legislative or other powers of the Federal Government. The Federal Legislature is the judge of such matters if disputes should arise.

“The States individually,” says Bryce, “(a) include every right and power of a government except that of seceding from Union; (b) the powers which the Federal Constitution withholds from them as regards commerce and treaties and intercourse with foreign nations; and (c) such other powers as their Constitutions confer by way of compromise upon the Federal Government.” The States government might

be said to rule the daily life of the citizens and regulate their concerns, whilst the Federal government appeals more to their sense of patriotism. It is the central bond for all American ideas of nationality. It is the bond that enthuses them and grafts them together as a people and a nation. State government since the civil war assumes for the practical purposes of government the place of extended and liberal local government. It is the balancing power in the Union. Just as the Federal government acts as a bond of union and security to the States, so does the State government solidify and balance the Federal government. Hence when the country every four years is in a turmoil over the Presidential election, when the Federal centre of gravity is going or gone, government independent of the turmoil proceeds apace by the machinery inherent to each State legislature over the nation. In some way this self-governing and automatic system acts as a fulcrum and some sort of anchorage to party strife, and keeps the ship of State steady with a steadiness little less than the monarchical conservative stability and continuity inherent in Royalty.

There is little difference over the States at present in politics in one State from another, considering the fluctuating nature of the population and the influx of colonizers. Railways and other means of communication have a levelling influence on factions and parties. Trade and commerce are so interlaced, tariff so universal and the union of common interests so evenly balanced over the Union that vast though the area of Union is, real union in every essential is a more practical asset now than it was a hundred years ago. The educational ramifications with one official language have not a little helped to solve the difficulties which one might expect in ruling from one centre one hundred millions of a population. With the above preliminaries we will pass on to discuss hurriedly some leading points of the Constitution.

The Legislative powers of the United States are vested in a Congress of Senators and Representatives elected from

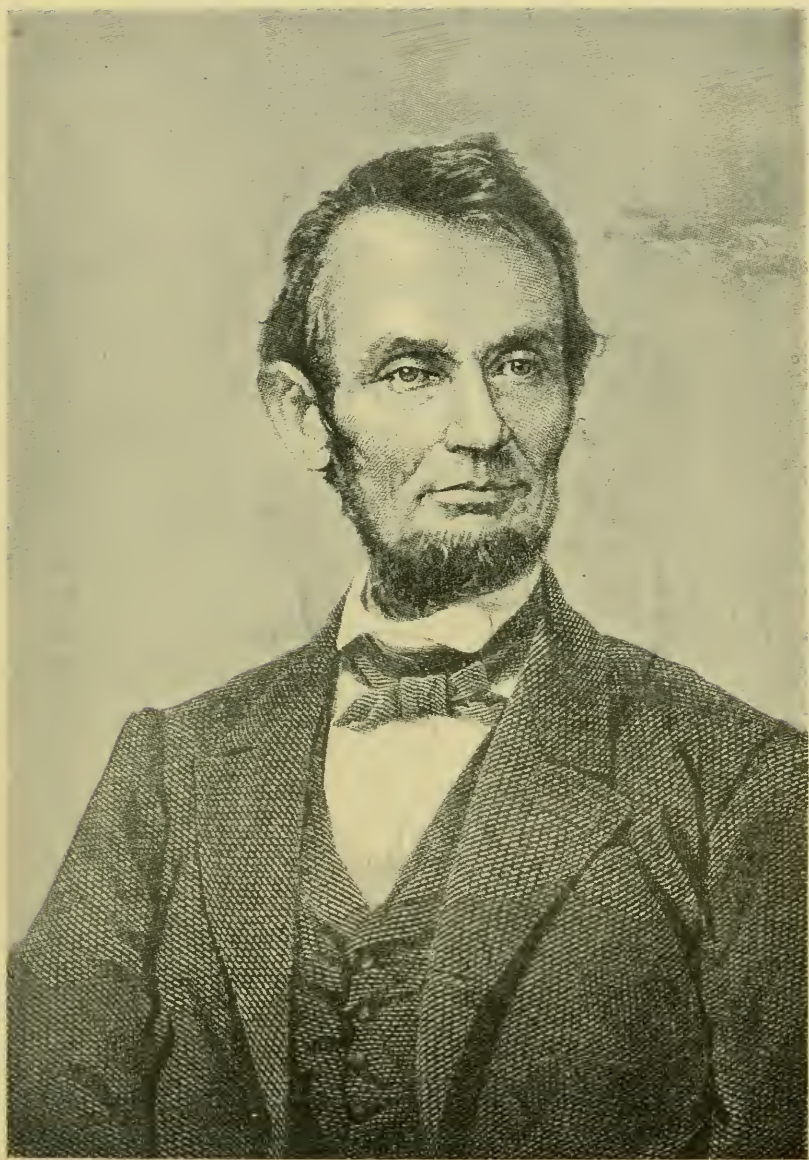
the States affiliated to the Union. Each State sends two Senators to the National Senate, chosen by their own Legislature. Their term of office is for six years, going out in rotation one-third every two years.

The House of Representatives is composed of candidates elected by the popular vote of the qualified electors of each State. They are chosen for two years' service in Congress. The Senators vary with the number of States in Union. The Representatives vary with the population of the nation. In the year 1890 there was one Representative for every 173,900 of the population. There are at present about 360 Representatives and a little over 90 Senators in Congress. We had only 26 Senators after Rhode Island in 1790 came into the Union, now we should have 104 if some of the 52 States were not as yet only Territories and so not formally adopted in the Union. No one is eligible for Senator until he has attained the age of 30 years and has been nine years an inhabitant of the States for which he is chosen. The Vice-President of the United States is President of the Senate. The Senate has sole power to try all impeachments.

The qualifications for a Representative are that he be 25 years old, seven years a citizen of United States, and a resident in the State for which he is elected. The Senators and Representatives are paid at same rate, whilst in Congress, besides 8,000 dollars, they have their travelling and incidental expenses allowed them.

The President of the United States must be a natural-born citizen of United States and have attained the age of 35 years. The President holds office for four years and may have his term renewed as often as the electors desire, but since Washington's eight years' office in the chair as Chief Magistrate no President has sought the suffrage for a third election.

Before the President enters upon office he swears the following oath before the Lord Chief Justice: "I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

the United States and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." He is liable to impeachment for violating this solemn trust. Only one President, Andrew Jackson, of old Ulster stock, has been arraigned by Congress. He was acquitted, though the case was strong against him, that he had exceeded his powers as constitutional head of the Executive. It is an admitted fact that Abraham Lincoln exceeded his powers during the civil war by suspending the Habeas Corpus. But the circumstances were exceptional. The President's salary was fixed by Constitution at 20,000 dollars. He keeps no bodyguard or court, assumes no other title than that of President. The offences for which he may be impeached are: Treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

The President and Vice-President are elected indirectly by the popular vote. Each State votes for Presidential electors at the time and manner pointed out in Constitution. These electors voted for by the suffrage of the States vote for the President and Vice-President. Each State has as many electoral voters as there are Senators and Representatives from their respective States. These electors voted for must not be officials or Congress men. The votes are sealed by Legislatures of each State, and transmitted to Congress to be counted in presence of both houses of Congress. The candidates who obtain the majority of votes become President and Vice-President respectively. If no candidate obtains a majority, the House of Representatives proceed to elect a President in accordance with enactment of Congress passed in September, 1804, and now incorporated in the Articles of the Constitution. Should the President die during his term of office then the Vice-President becomes President, and should he die one of the secretaries of Council or Cabinet in order of seniority of importance of office. There were only three members of the Cabinet in Washington's time. The President is not bound to consult his Cabinet or

ministry; they are his servants and assistants and are nominated by him and can be dismissed at his pleasure. He and not they are accountable to the people for acts of the Executive. Cabinet ministers are independent of Congress, have no seat or vote in either House, and neither assemblies need consult them or act from their instructions. The President is independent of either House, is above the parties and legislators. He need not mind a vote adverse to his policy as it is to the people of the nation and not to the people's representatives he is accountable. The President signs all Acts before they become law; but after he has kept a bill in his possession he must return it to Congress before ten days, otherwise it has the force of law. If he returns it unsigned and to be amended he must sign it as sent up to him the second time. In matters of Treaties and wars the President is supreme in consultation with the Senate. The only staying power the Representatives can have on President and Senate in these matters would be by refusing to pass Money Bills and thus render the Executive powerless. All Money Bills originate in the Lower House. The Senate acts like our Lords as a steady brake on the Representatives. I will merely add in reference to the Constitution that it empowers the National Congress to legislate for the whole Union, and to moderate and inspect the legislative enactments of the self-governing States; to see that they carry out the details of government in harmony with their own and the national and their sister States Constitutions. In deciding points with the State Constitution the State legal machinery is competent to decide. In adjusting legal points between separate States or a State with the Federal Union Government, the Supreme Court under the Constitution must decide.

It will be noted that there is much similarity between the English Constitution and the American. The early State legislatures were moulded by Englishmen mainly, and what was best in the Anglo-Saxon system was adopted by the

colonials. Those men, with the varied experiences of the smaller constitutions and their working and development for generations, had ripe experience in small areas to aid by their counsel in building the new Federal system. Of course England's Constitution is a growth, an evolution, an unwritten code sanctioned and seasoned by time and experience; America's Constitution is a written Constitution moulded into parchment from the fusion of many experiences and the compromising of many interests. You must substitute President for King, Republic for Monarchical State, an elective Upper Chamber for an hereditary House of Lords, and a more democratic franchise for elective purposes. Yet you have a similar threefold division of government: the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial branches. The two systems differ fundamentally in this that in the British system the King, Parliament and people are a unit and sovereign and act as if the whole nation were in Parliament at same time. The American system has no constitutional body. The President and Congress are subject to the written Constitution. The ultimate and supreme power in the States are the people of the States acting in the manner prescribed by the Constitution. The drawback in the American system would seem to be the custom which Jefferson was mainly instrumental in bringing about, viz., that though the President is supposed by Constitution to be above party, yet he is always chosen on party lines. However it has not been known in the history of Presidents that the party spirit has been visible in the acts of the head of the Executive unless as regards appointments of officials, which appointments are for most part made on party lines on the principle that "the spoils of victory belongs to the victor." This system was mainly introduced into America by Jefferson as President, and Jackson twenty years later made a wholesale clearance of the officials in every department to make room for his friends. There are however permanent under-officials who know the traditions

of the departments, and thus is obviated blundering and want of continuity in the offices of State. We have the same system here in Ireland in our departments.

Whilst the different States were busily engaged in 1788 conducting a campaign over the Union to find out the opinions of the people on the work done in the Constitutional Convention, we will give the opinions of the leaders of public opinion regarding the Constitution as it was sent forth from Congress to the State legislatures. Franklin thus speaks at close of the Convention: "If any form of government is capable of making a nation happy ours, I think, bids fair now for producing that effect. But after all much depends upon the people who are to be governed. We are making experiments in politics. We have been guarding against an evil that old States are most liable to, excess of power in the rulers; but our present danger seems to be defect of obedience in the subjects."

Washington, to different correspondents at this time, spoke out his mind freely on the Convention, and his opinion is of great importance, considering the part he had in framing the Constitution and finally guiding and directing its early footsteps as President. He says in a letter to Patrick Henry, who was an anti-Federalist: "I wish the Constitution which is offered had been more perfect, but I sincerely believe it is the best that could be obtained at this time; and as a constitutional door is opened for amendments hereafter, the adoption of it under present circumstances is, in my opinion, desirable." Washington and those who longed for Union and Federation were, whilst the States were discussing the Articles prior to ratification, actively engaged enlightening the public over the Union to bring about its ratification by the States as public affairs required government under the Constitution most urgently.

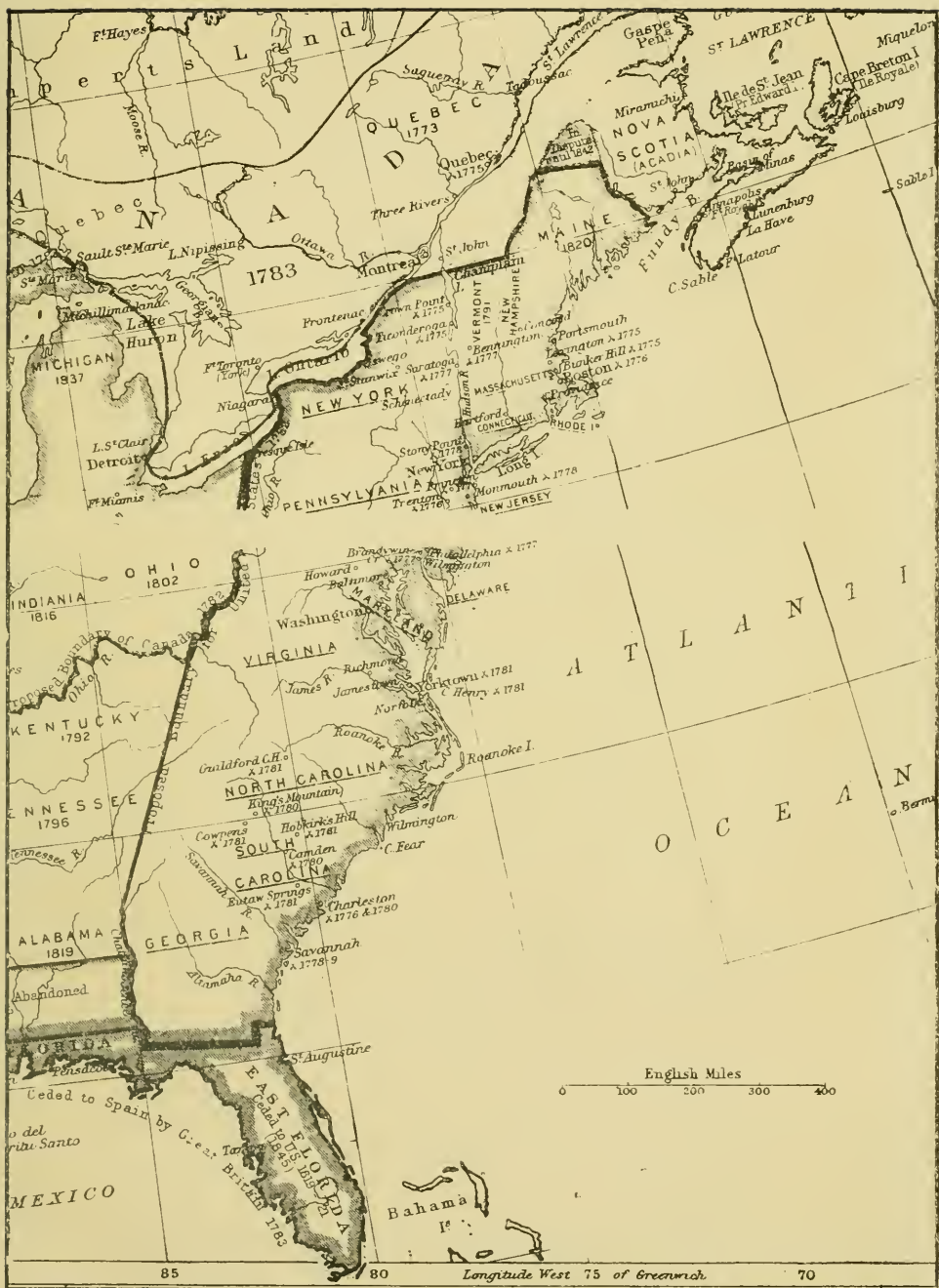
Hamilton, Knox, Madison and Monroe, John Adams, as well as Marshall and Jay and others were by word and pen explaining and recommending the Constitution to the people.

In this additional quotation from "the father of his country" you can gather conclusively how urgent he considered the matter of adoption: "Should the Constitution be adopted I think America will lift her head again, and in a few years become respectable among the nations. In the aggregate," he says again, "it is the best Constitution that can be obtained at this epoch, and that either we adopt it or a dissolution awaits our choice, and this is the only alternative." Again he says: "When our people shall find themselves secure under an energetic government, when foreign nations shall be disposed to give us equal advantages in commerce from dread of retaliation (Washington was a protectionist), when the burdens of war shall be in a manner done away with by the sale of the Western lands (I may incidentally mention that Virginia and the other interested States had ceded prior to the Convention their claims on the Western territories to Congress), when the seeds of happiness which are sown here shall begin to expand themselves, then those blessings will be referred to the fostering influence of the new government" (letter to Lafayette).

There were many leading spirits at this time who, whilst not opposed to a Union and Constitution, opposed the adoption of the Constitution until it should be amended, men such as Jefferson who, although in Paris, yet had many objections to offer. 1st. He believed that a Bill of Rights should be incorporated in the Articles. 2nd. He held that the States should not be tied down in such subserviency to the Federal Government. He would give them the right of nullification and the power to secede from the Union. He was for State, instead of Federal Sovereignty. 3rd. He feared that the President might, by rotation, become elected every four years for life. However Jefferson, who was democratic if anything, said the will of the people was the supreme law, and if the States adopted the Constitution he was content. He was elected in 1801 President and remained in office for eight years.

The Constitution, after a fierce resistance, was adopted over the Union by eleven States. North Carolina did not come into the Union until after the new government was formed under the Constitution; and Rhode Island, at one time the most loyal and patriotic of the States, showed a most disintegrating spirit throughout. It neither sent delegates to the Convention in 1787, nor did it ratify until its splendid isolation made it imperative on it to seek for Union in 1790.

The State sovereignty question seemed to be the great objection to the ratification over the most of the Union, but as Dr. Tocqueville has shown more particularly in the New England States. In these ultra-democratic States each State was an aggregate of the autonomous counties it contained, each of which again was made up of its self-governed townships—the “monods” of the political system. From this deeply-rooted system we can glean the opposition and resistance that was offered to the Constitution led by such veterans as Samuel Adams, the “Father of the Revolution,” and Hancock, President of first “Colonial Congress.” It was during this Constitutional contest over the States that Federalists and Democrats had their origin. Those conditionally opposing the Constitution were ranked as Democrats. The Federalists were those who advocated a strong central executive. Hamilton and J. Adams were Federalists, Jefferson and Henry were strong Antis or Democrats.



NORTH AMERICA AT THE END OF THE WAR.

APPENDIX A.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE following preamble and specifications, known as the Declaration of Independence, accompanied the resolution of Richard Henry Lee, which was adopted by Congress on the 2nd day of July, 1776. This declaration was agreed to on the 4th, and the transaction is thus recorded in the Journal for that day:

“ Agreeably to the order of the day, the Congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole, to take into their further consideration the Declaration; and, after some time, the president resumed the chair, and Mr. Harrison reported that the committee have agreed to a Declaration, which they desired him to report. The Declaration being read, was agreed to as follows:”

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN
CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles, and organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

1. He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

2. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

3. He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would

relinquish the right of representation in the Legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

4. He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

5. He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

6. He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

7. He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

8. He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

9. He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure on their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

10. He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people and eat out their substance.

11. He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

12. He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

13. He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation;

14. For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;
15. For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States ;
16. For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ;
17. For imposing taxes on us without our consent ;
18. For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of a trial by jury ;
19. For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ;
20. For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighbouring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies ;
21. For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments ;
22. For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.
23. He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.
24. He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.
25. He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely parallel in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.
26. He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.
27. He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and

has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind—enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved, and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on

the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

MASSACHUSETTS
BAY.

SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

RHODE ISLAND.

STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

NEW YORK.

WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS

PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH,
GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.

DELAWARE.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEORGE READ,
THOMAS M'KEAN.

MARYLAND.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, of
Carrollton.

VIRGINIA.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON,
THOMAS NELSON, JUN.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.

NEW JERSEY.

RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAHAM CLARK.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, JUN.,
THOMAS LYNCH, JUN.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

GEORGIA.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEORGE WALTON.

APPENDIX B.

A CHART ON THE CONSTITUTION.

Some Steps toward the Constitution		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New England Confederation (1643). Franklin's Plan of Union (1754). Stamp Act Congress (1765). Committees of Correspondence (1772). First Meeting of the Continental Congress (1774). Declaration of Independence (1776). Adoption of Articles of Confederation (1781). Annapolis Convention (1786). Constitutional Convention (1787) 	
Legislative Department	House of Representatives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manner of election. Term of office. Qualifications. Represents the people. Census. Apportionment. Speaker the Presiding Officer. 	
	Senate	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Number. Manner of election. Term of office. Represents the States. Qualifications. Sole power to try impeachments. Vice-President the Presiding Officer. 	
Executive Department	President	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Term of office. Manner of election. Qualifications. Oath of office. Impeachment. 	
	Cabinet	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manner of appointment. Number. Duties. 	
Judicial Department.	Judges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Manner of appointment. Number. Term of office. 	
	Courts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Supreme. Circuit. District. 	
Congress	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Time of Meeting. Quorum. Adjournment. Journal. How a Bill becomes a Law. 	Congress has power— <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To lay taxes. To borrow money. To regulate commerce. To naturalize foreigners. To coin money. To fix standard of weights and measures. To establish post-offices. To declare war. To raise and support armies. To provide and maintain a navy. To maintain light houses. To make new States. 	
President's Powers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commander-in-chief of the army and navy. With the advice and consent of the Senate makes treaties and appoints. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ambassadors. Ministers. Consuls. Judges. 	President's Duties <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Messsages to Congress. Special sessions of Congress. Receives Ambassadors. Attends to execution of laws.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WE, the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

CLAUSE 2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,¹ which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every

¹ Under the census of 1890 one representative is apportioned to every 173,901 people.

thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

CLAUSE 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

CLAUSE 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

CLAUSE 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

CLAUSE 3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

CLAUSE 5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

CLAUSE 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

CLAUSE 7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—CLAUSE 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—CLAUSE 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorised to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

CLAUSE 2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

CLAUSE 3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

CLAUSE 4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—CLAUSE 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

CLAUSE 2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—CLAUSE 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

CLAUSE 2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become

a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

CLAUSE 3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.—CLAUSE 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

CLAUSE 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

CLAUSE 4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

CLAUSE 6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

CLAUSE 7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

CLAUSE 8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

CLAUSE 9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

CLAUSE 10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

CLAUSE 11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

CLAUSE 12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

CLAUSE 13. To provide and maintain a navy;

CLAUSE 14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

CLAUSE 15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;;

CLAUSE 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

CLAUSE 17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—And

CLAUSE 18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—CLAUSE 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

CLAUSE 2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

CLAUSE 3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

CLAUSE 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

CLAUSE 5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

CLAUSE 6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

CLAUSE 7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular

statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

CLAUSE 8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.—CLAUSE 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make any thing but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

CLAUSE 2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and impost, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

CLAUSE 3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.—EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I.—CLAUSE 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during a term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

CLAUSE 2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors,

equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

CLAUSE 3.¹

CLAUSE 4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

CLAUSE 5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

CLAUSE 6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President; and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

CLAUSE 7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

CLAUSE 8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute

¹ This clause is no longer in force. Amendment XII. has superseded it

the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

CLAUSE 2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of department.

CLAUSE 3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other

public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanours.

ARTICLE III.—JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT.

SECTION I.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1.¹ The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

CLAUSE 2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction.

¹ This clause has been modified by Amendment XI.

In all the other cases before-mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

CLAUSE 3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.—GENERAL PROVISION.

SECTION I.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

CLAUSE 2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

CLAUSE 3. No person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labour may be due.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV.—The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.—POWER OF AMENDMENT.

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth

clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.

CLAUSE 1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

CLAUSE 2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

CLAUSE 3. The senators and representatives before-mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.—RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

CONSENT OF THE STATES PRESENT.¹

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE.

GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.

JAMES MCHENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THOMAS
JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

¹ Rhode Island was not represented in the Federal Convention.

AMENDMENTS.¹

To the Constitution of the United States, Ratified according to the Provisions of the Fifth Article of the Foregoing Constitution.

ARTICLE I.—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress and grievances.

ARTICLE II.—A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

¹ Amendments I. to X. were declared in force December 15, 1791.

ARTICLE VI.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favour, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of common law.

ARTICLE VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.¹—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.²—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant

¹ Declared in force January 8, 1798.

² Declared in force September, 25, 1804.

of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the

office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.¹—SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the person shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.²—SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalised in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be appointed among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

¹ Declared in force December 18, 1865.

² Declared in force July 28, 1868.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorised by law, including debts incurred for payment of pension and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.¹—SECTION 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Declared in force March 30, 1870.



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